



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Pal-lac

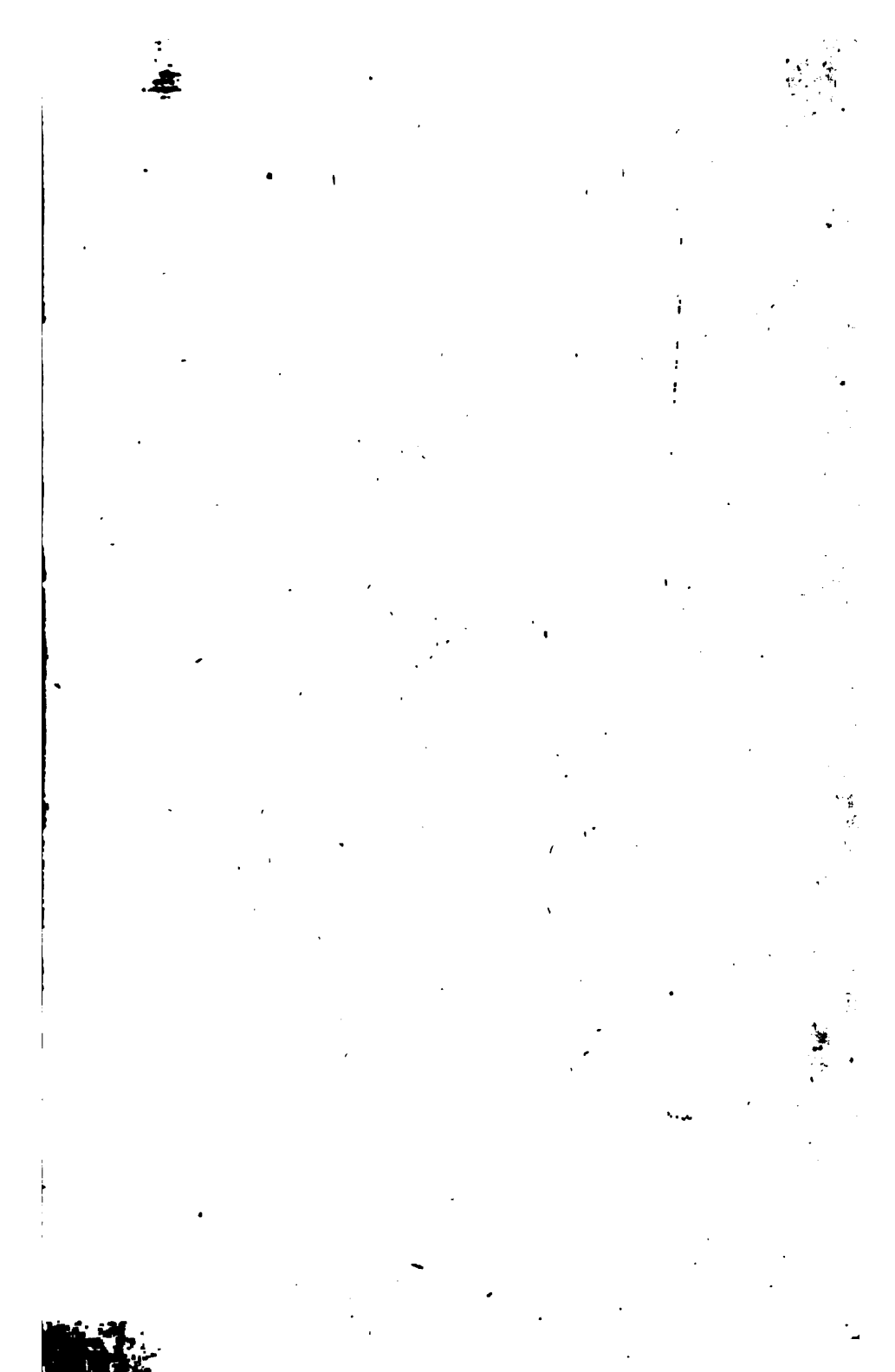


~~29522~~

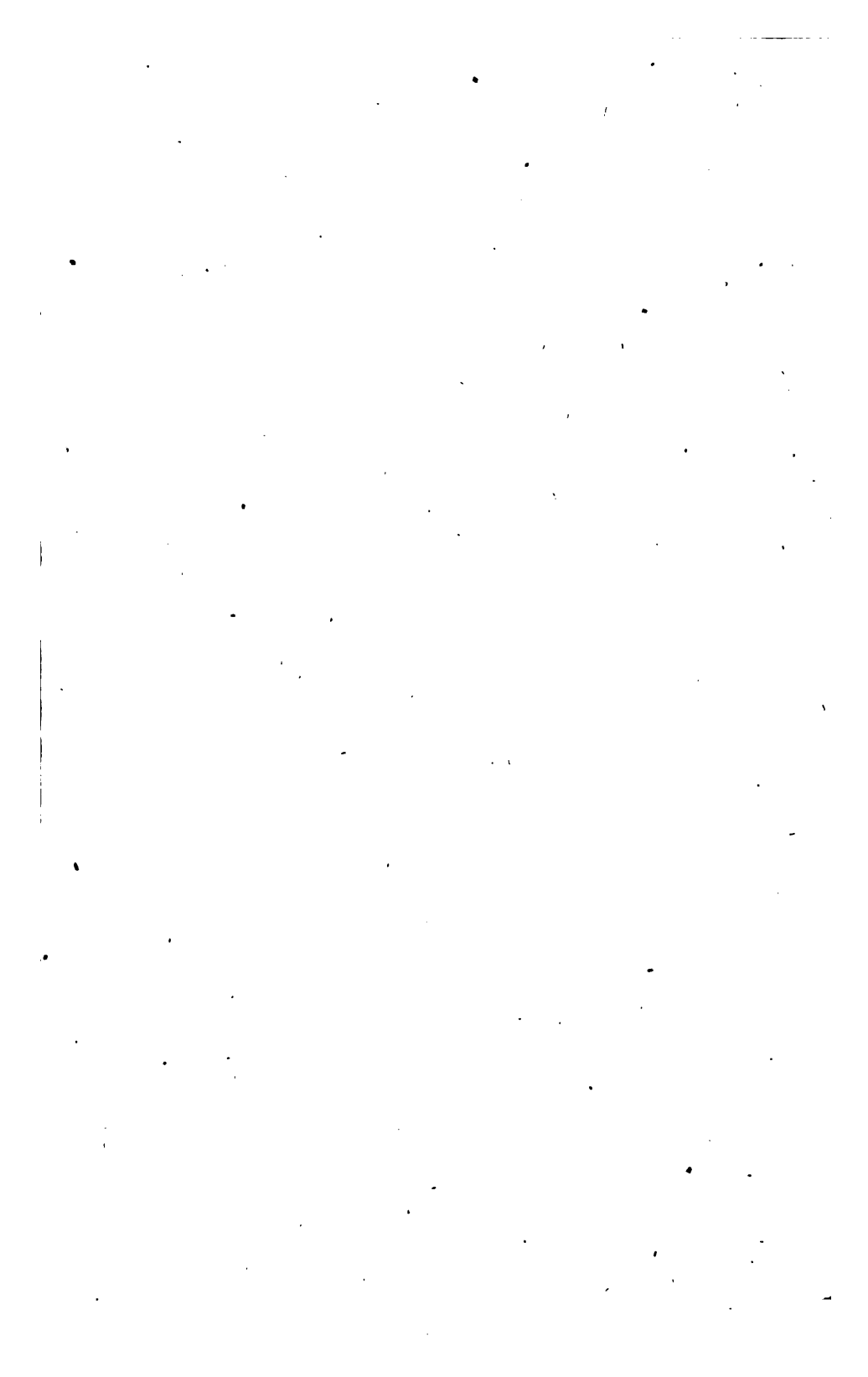
Indian Institute, Oxford.

Purchased, Mar. 1912.

98 B.29 -
2









A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Translated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M.A.

THE THIRD EDITION:
REVISED AND CORRECTED.
WITH MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

L O N D O N:
Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.
M D C C L X X V I I .



C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

B O O K I V.

	Page
V ORAGES, settlements, wars, and trade, of the French in the East Indies	I

B O O K V.

Trade of Denmark, Ostend, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, and Russia, to the East Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India.	161
--	-----

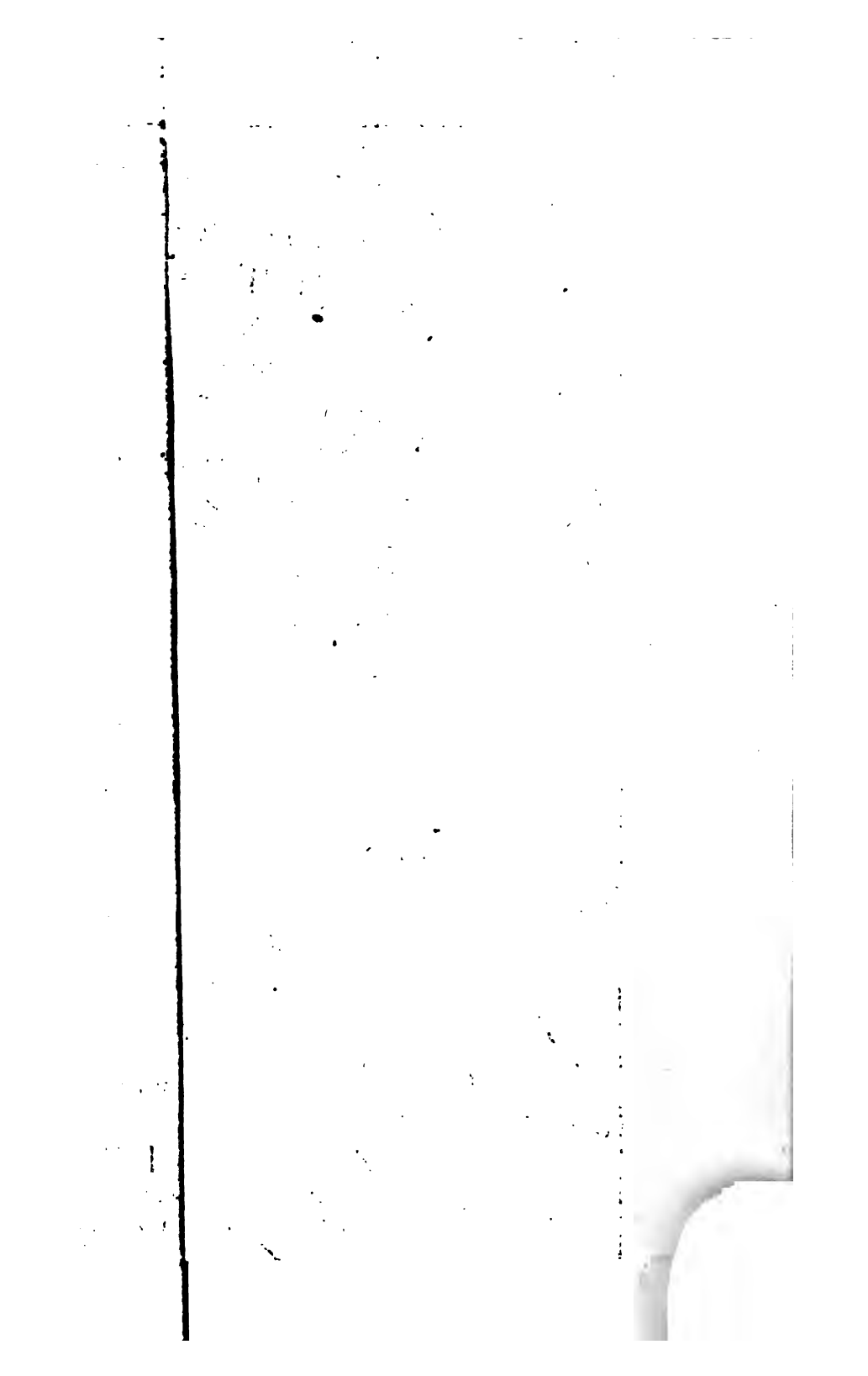
B O O K VI.

Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico; and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the new world	339
--	-----

B O O K VII.

Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this empire since that revo- lution	466
Vol. II.	a







A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

B O O K IV.

*Voyages, Settlements, Wars, and Trade, of the
French in the East-Indies.*

THE ancient Gauls, almost always at war with each other, had no other intercourse but such as savage nations, whose wants are always few, can have with each other. Their connections abroad were still more circumscribed. Some navigators from Vannes carried earthen-ware to Great Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, slaves, tin, and furs. Such of these articles as they could not dispose of at home, were conveyed to Marseilles, and there exchanged for wines, stuffs, and spices, which were brought thither by traders from Italy or Greece.

BOOK
IV.

Ancient
revolu-
tions of
commerce
in France.

VOL. II.

B

THIS

THIS kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls. It appears from Cæsar's account, that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals. They thought their own soil sufficiently fruitful to answer all their wants. The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not so strict. To enable them to pay for the commodities they might procure from the Mediterranean, and for which their desire was continually increasing, they had recourse to a kind of labour that had never before occurred to them: they collected with great care all the gold dust that was brought down with the sand along the stream of several of their rivers.

THOUGH the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of estimation, it necessarily increased in Gaul, after they had subdued, and in some measure civilized it. Sea-ports were established at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every where made, the ruins of which we still behold with astonishment. Every navigable river had its company of merchants, to whom considerable privileges were granted. These were called *Nautes*, and were the agents and springs of a general circulation.

THIS rising spirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it restored to its former activity, even when these robbers had established themselves in their conquests. To their savage fury succeeded an
unbounded

unbounded passion for wealth; to gratify which, they had recourse to every kind of oppression. Every boat that came to a town was to pay a duty for entrance, another for the salute, a third for the bridge, a fourth for approaching the shore, a fifth for anchorage, a sixth for leave to unload, and a seventh for store-room. Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were exposed to the insufferable tyranny of custom-house officers, who were dispersed all over the country. These excesses were carried so far, that sometimes the goods brought to market did not produce enough to pay the expences incurred before the sale of them. A total discouragement was the necessary consequence of such enormities.

CLOYSTERS soon became the only places where industry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The monks were not then corrupted by idleness, intrigue, and debauchery. Useful labours filled up the vacancies of an edifying and retired life. The most humble and robust of them shared the toils of agriculture with their servants. Those to whom nature had imparted less strength, or more understanding, applied themselves to the cultivation of the neglected and abandoned arts. All of them in silence and retirement were engaged in the service of their country, whose substance their successors have incessantly devoured, and disturbed its tranquillity.

DAGOBERT excited the spirit of his countrymen in the seventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons flocked with tin and lead from

England; the Jews with jewels and gold or silver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the north; traders from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain, with the commodities of their respective countries, and those they received from Africa, Egypt, and Syria; and merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their soil and their industry afforded. Unfortunately this prosperity was of a short duration; it disappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charlemagne.

THAT prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greatest men recorded in history, had he not been sometimes influenced by sanguinary schemes of conquest, and sullied with acts of persecution and tyranny, seemed to follow the footsteps of those first Romans, who made rural labours a relaxation from the fatigues of war. He applied himself to the care of his vast domains, with that closeness and skill which would hardly be expected from the most assiduous man in a private station. All the great men of the state followed his example, and devoted themselves to husbandry, and to those arts which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had plenty of their own productions to barter, and could with great ease make them circulate throughout the immense empire, which was then subject to their dominion.

So flourishing a situation presented a fresh allurements to the Normans to indulge the inclination they had for piracy. Those barbarians, accustomed

accustomed to seek from plunder that wealth which their soil did not afford, came in multitudes out of their inhospitable climate in quest of booty. They attacked all the sea-coasts but those of France, which promised the richest spoil, with the greatest violence. The ravages they committed, with the cruelties they exercised, the flames they kindled for a whole century in those fertile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror. During that fatal period nothing was thought of but how to escape slavery or death. There was no communication between the several parts of the kingdom, and consequently no trade.

IN the mean-time the nobles, intrusted with the administration of the provinces, had insensibly made themselves masters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, thrown off all dependence on the head of the empire; but, retaining the modest appellation of vassals, they were not much less formidable to the state than the kings in the neighbourhood of its frontiers. They were confirmed in their usurpations at the memorable æra when the sceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets. From that time there were no longer any national assemblies, no tribunals, no laws, no government. In that fatal confusion, the sword usurped the place of justice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace servitude, to purchase the protection of a chief who was able to defend them.

COMMERCE could not possibly flourish when loaded with the shackles of slavery, and in the midst of the continual disturbances occasioned by the most cruel anarchy. Industry is the child of peace; nothing depresses it so much as servitude. Genius languishes when it is not animated by hope and emulation; and neither of these can subsist where there is no property. Nothing is a stronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impossibility of working successfully to enrich barbarous masters.

SEVERAL of the kings of France entertained some idea of this important truth; they attempted to abridge the power of those petty tyrants, who, by ruining their unfortunate vassals, kept up the calamities of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the first who introduced trade into the system of government. Before his time it was only a work of chance and circumstances. He brought it under the regulation of stated laws; and he himself drew up statutes, which have served as a model for those that have since been enacted.

THESE first steps led the way to measures of greater importance. The old law, which forbade the exportation of all productions of the kingdom, was still in force, and agriculture was discouraged by this absurd prohibition. The wise monarch removed these fatal impediments; expecting, not without reason, that a free exportation would restore to the nation those treasures which his imprudent expedition into Asia had lavished.

SOME

SOME political events seconded these salutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings of France had but few ports on the ocean, and none on the Mediterranean. The northern coasts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Bretagne: the rest belonged to the English. The southern coasts were possessed by the Counts of Toulouse, and the Kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Castile. By this arrangement, the inland provinces had little or no communication with the foreign markets. The union of the county of Toulouse with the crown removed this great obstacle, at least for a part of the French territory.

PHILIP, the son of St. Lewis, desirous of improving the advantages of this union, endeavoured to draw to Nîmes, a city under his jurisdiction, part of the trade carried on at Montpellier, which belonged to the king of Arragon. The privileges he granted produced the desired effect; but it was soon found to be an object of little consequence. The Italians supplied the kingdom with spices, perfumes, silks, and all the rich stuffs of the East. The arts had not made such progress in France as to admit of the manufactures being used in exchange; and the produce of agriculture was not sufficient to defray so many expences of luxury. A trade of such value could not be carried on without money, and there was but little in the kingdom, especially since the Crusades; though France was not so poor as most of the other European nations.

PHILIP, surnamed The Fair, was sensible of these truths; he found means to improve agriculture, so as to answer the demands of foreign importations; and these he reduced, by establishing new manufactures, and improving the old ones. Under this reign the ministry first undertook to guide the hand of the artist, and to direct his labours. The breadth, the quality, and the-dressing of the cloths were fixed; the exportation of wool, which the neighbouring nations came to purchase in order to manufacture it, was prohibited. These were the best measures that could be taken in those times of ignorance.

SINCE that period the progress of the arts was proportioned to the decay of feudal tyranny. The French, however, did not begin to form their taste till the time of their expeditions into Italy. They were dazzled with a thousand new objects that presented themselves at Genoa, Venice, and Florence. The strictness observed by Anne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. at first restrained the conquerors from giving full scope to their propensity for imitation; but no sooner had Francis I. invited the women to court, no sooner had Catharine of Medicis crossed the Alps, than the great affected an elegance unknown before since the first foundation of the monarchy. The whole nation was led by this alluring example of luxury, and the improvement of the manufactures was the natural consequence.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

9
BOOK
IV.

FROM Henry II. to Henry IV. the civil wars, the unhappy divisions of religion, the ignorance of government, the spirit of finance which began to have its influence in the council; the barbarous and devouring avarice of men in business, encouraged by the protection they enjoyed; all these several causes retarded the progress of industry, but could never destroy it. It revived with fresh splendour under the frugal administration of Sully. It was almost extinguished under those of Richelieu and Mazarine, both governed by the farmers of the revenue; one wholly taken up with his ambition for empire and his spirit of revenge, the other with intrigue and plunder.

No king of France had ever seriously considered the advantages that might accrue from a trade to India, nor had the emulation of the French been excited by the lustre which other nations derived from it. They consumed more eastern productions than any other nation; they were as favourably situated for procuring them at the first hand; and yet they were content to pay to foreign industry what their own might as well have partaken of.

First
voyage of
the French
to the East
Indies.

SOME merchants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in 1535, upon a small expedition; but Genonville, who commanded it, met with violent storms at the Cape of Good Hope, was cast upon unknown lands, and with much difficulty got back to Europe.

In 1601 a society formed in Bretagne fitted out two ships, to endeavour to get a share, if possible, of the riches of the East, which the Portuguese,

Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch, were contending for. Pyrard, who commanded these ships, arrived at the Maldives, and did not return to his own country till after an unfortunate navigation of ten years.

A NEW company, headed by one Girard, a native of Flanders, fitted out some ships from Normandy for the island of Java, in 1616 and 1619. They returned with cargoes sufficient to indemnify the adventurers, but not enough to encourage them to any fresh undertakings.

CAPTAIN Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruitless grant in 1633, prevailed upon some merchants of Dieppe, two years after, to enter upon a track which might be productive of great riches, if properly pursued. Fortune baffled the endeavours of the new adventurers. The only advantage gained by these repeated expeditions, was the high opinion that was conceived of the island of Madagascar, discovered by the Portuguese in 1506.

THIS gave rise to a company in 1642, which was to make a considerable settlement on that island, to secure to their ships the necessary refreshments for sailing further.

Settlement
of the
French on
Madagascar. Description of
that Island.

UPON a survey of the island, it was found to be situated along the eastern coast of Africa; it was three hundred and thirty-six leagues long, and one hundred and twenty broad in the widest part, and about eight hundred in circumference. By whatever wind a ship is brought there, nothing but dreary and barren sands are to be seen; but

at a greater distance from the shore the soil is sometimes black, sometimes reddish, mostly fruitful, and every where watered by a great number of rivers. Vegetation is here very quick; the soil requires little labour, and naturally produces rice, potatoes, bananas, pine-apples, indigo, hemp, cotton, silk, sugar, palm-trees, cocoa-trees, orange-trees, gum-trees, and timber fit for building, and for every use. The pastures are excellent, and are covered with oxen of the largest kind, and sheep exactly resembling those of Barbary.

THE island of Madagascar is divided into a great many provinces; each of them has a chief called *Dian*, which answers to the word Lord. All the ensigns of his dignity are his slaves and his flocks. His place is hereditary; but, in default of heirs, it devolves upon the oldest of his delegates. His council is composed of some magistrates whom he makes choice of; and the rest, which is the greatest number, reside in the villages, to preserve peace, and administer justice. He can neither declare war without their consent, nor support it without the voluntary contribution and actual assistance of his people.

SUCH is the general form of government in the island; the province of Anossi alone differs from it, having been possessed by the Arabs for several centuries past. Though few in number, they soon became the strongest, and divided the country into twenty-two districts, each of which had a ruler of their own nation, to whom they gave the Name of *Boandrian*, or descendant of Abraham.

These

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

These petty sovereigns are continually at war with each other, but never fail to unite against the other princes of Madagascar, who hold them in detestation, as being foreigners and usurpers. This is of all the island that part which is the most destitute of morals, activity, industry, and bravery, because it is the only one where there is no liberty.

SOME of the French settled at Fort Dauphin, in the country of Anossi, have lately in their excursions discovered a new race of men, called *Kimor*, the tallest of whom are not above four feet high. They inhabit about forty villages in the interior parts, towards the north-west of the island. They are said to be more mischievous than their neighbours, and, what appears very extraordinary, not so cowardly. They never stir out of their mountains, nor suffer any one to penetrate into them.

THE other inhabitants of Madagascar are tall, nimble, and have a haughty appearance. They will mask a deep design, or a strong passion, under a smiling face, as artfully as any knave in a civilized nation. They are ignorant of the origin of their laws, but observe them with great exactness. The old men, who are intrusted with the care of enforcing them, never take any fee for the trial of a criminal, and think themselves sufficiently rewarded if they can rid their country of a malefactor. In civil causes the parties bring them so many head of cattle, in proportion to the importance of the affair.

THE

THE offence that is most frequently brought before these magistrates is theft. Notwithstanding the custom of boring the hand of the person convicted of this crime; the propensity to theft prevails universally. The inhabitants, ever afraid of their property, live in continual mistrust of each other. For their mutual security, they seal their engagements with the most solemn oaths. They are so accustomed to these formalities, that they practise them even when they have any transactions with Europeans. On these important occasions, he who represents the nation puts into a vessel, filled with brandy, some gold, silver, gun-flint, if possible some of the dust of the tomb of his ancestors, and frequently blood, which, after the manner of the ancient Scythians, the parties draw out of their own arms by incision. During these preparatives, their weapons are laid on the ground in the form of a cross. Soon after, both parties take them up, and hold them with the point in the cup, constantly stirring the contents till the agreement is made. Then the contracting parties, the witnesses, and the spectators, all drink out of the cup till it is empty; after which they embrace and retire.

RELIGIOUS principles do not restrain the people of Madagascar from acts of injustice. Though in general they admit the prevailing doctrine of the two principles, they have but a confused notion of it, nor have they any form of worship whatever. Notwithstanding this indifference for religion, they are addicted to every kind of superstition.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

stition. In their uncouth notions of astrology they neither see, nor imagine, any thing which they do not connect with futurity.

THE most dangerous of all their prejudices is, doubtless, the distinction between lucky and unlucky days. They inhumanely put to death all children born on the unlucky day. This destructive principle is one cause among many others which prevents the population of this country.

THOSE who do not fall victims to this cruel superstition are generally circumcised at the age of two years, or twenty-four moons, as they express it. The ceremony is performed with all possible solemnity. While the operation is performing, one of the child's parents holds a cup under the sacred knife; and the most distinguished of the uncles swallows the part of the prepuce that has been cut off. The rest of the family, and the bystanders, dip a finger into the blood, and taste it. These singular mysteries are concluded with festivity, dancing, and pleasures of all kinds.

THE people of Madagascar never receive any kind of education, and marry as soon as they attain to the state of manhood. A man of the lower class, even a slave, takes as many wives as he pleases, or as many as he can find. Persons in higher stations have but one lawful wife; but in order to vary their pleasures they keep concubines. They all put away their wives whenever they dislike them; and both parties are at full liberty to marry again, or to remain single.

THE people of Madagascar lead an idle and dissolute life, and seldom arrive at old age. An unwholesome climate, bad food, constant debauchery, the want of proper assistance, together with other causes, concur to hasten their end. When a man dies, the whole neighbourhood is apprized of it by lamentations, expressed in one continued mournful strain. The relations meet, and partake of the most profuse entertainments, whilst the most affectionate of the slaves keeps asking the deceased, "What could induce him to quit all that was dear to him." After eight days the corpse is buried with the choicest jewels of the deceased, who is not even then forgotten. The respect for ancestors is incredible in those barbarous regions. It is no uncommon thing, to see men of all ages weep over the tombs of their fathers, and ask their advice in the most important occurrences of life.

THE common food of the inhabitants of Madagascar is rice, which multiplies a hundred fold, though no pains are taken in cultivating it. Their drink is a kind of mead, and wine made with sugar and banana. Their greatest finery is a pagne over their shoulders, and another round their waist.

MADAGASCAR had been visited by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English; who had despised it, finding none of those objects which brought them to the East. The French, who seemed to have no determinate object in view, spent that capital they had reserved for the purpose of trade, in subduing the island. They found some gold scattered in one corner of it, and directly

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

directly concluded there must be gold mines, never suspecting that this metal, the quantity of which was continually decreasing, might have been brought thither by the Arabs. They were punished for their greediness, by the loss of their whole stock. At the expiration of their grant they had nothing left but a few tenements, situated in five or six different parts of the coast, built of boards covered with leaves, surrounded with stakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, because they mounted a few bad pieces of cannon. Their defenders were reduced to about a hundred robbers, who by their cruelties daily increased the hatred conceived against their nation. The whole of their conquests amounted to a few small districts, forsaken by the natives; and some few larger ones, from whence they forcibly extorted a tribute of provisions.

MARSHAL de la Meilleraie seized upon these ruins, and conceived the project of restoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. He had so little success, that his property sold but for 20,000 livres *, which was full as much as it was worth.

At last, in 1664, Colbert presented Lewis XIV. a plan for an East India Company. Agriculture was then so flourishing in France, and industry so animated, that this branch of commerce seemed to be needless. The minister was of a different opinion; he foresaw that the other European na-

* 875L

tions would follow his example, and set up manufactures of their own, and would also have another advantage over them by their connections in the East Indies. This was considered as an instance of deep penetration; and an East India company was accordingly created, vested with all the privileges enjoyed by the Dutch East India company. Colbert went still further; and, considering that in order to carry on great commercial undertakings there must always be a certain confidence in republics, which cannot be expected in monarchies, had recourse to every expedient that could produce it.

A CHARTER was granted for fifty years, that the company might be encouraged to form great settlements, with a prospect of reaping the fruits of them.

ALL foreigners advancing 20,000 livres * were to be deemed Frenchmen, without being naturalized.

ON the like terms, officers, whatever corps they belonged to, were allowed leave of absence, without forfeiting the rights of their post, or their pay.

WHATEVER was wanted for the building, equipment or victualling of the ships, was to be entered duty-free, and be exempt from all duties to the admiralty.

THE government engaged to pay fifty livres † per ton for all goods exported from France to

* 875*l*.† 2*l*. 3*s*. 9*d*.

India, and seventy-five livres * for every ton imported from thence.

THE government entered into engagements, to defend the settlements of the company with a sufficient military force, and to convoy their outward and homeward bound ships, with as strong a squadron as exigencies should require.

THE reigning passion of the nation was made subservient to this establishment. Hereditary titles and honours were promised to such as should distinguish themselves in the service of the company.

As trade was yet in its infancy in France, and was unable to furnish the fifteen millions † that were to constitute the stock of the new society, the ministry engaged to lend as far as three millions ‡. The nobles, the magistrates, all orders of men, were invited to share the rest. The nation, proud to please their king, who had not yet crushed them with the weight of his false greatness, came into the proposal with great eagerness.

THE persisting in the resolution of forming a settlement at Madagascar deprived the company of the benefit of the first voyage. They were at length obliged to relinquish that island, whose savage and unconquerable inhabitants could not be reconciled either to the commodities, the worship, or the manners of Europe.

AT that period it was, that the company's ships began to sail directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Isfahan, but in the French interest, they obtained leave to establish

* 3*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$

† Above 656,200*l.*

‡ 137,250*l.*
factories

factories on several places on the coast of the peninsula. They even attempted to secure a share of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to send none but protestants; but by the artifices of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the English had been before.

BOOK
IV.

SURAT had been pitched upon for the center of all the business which the company was to carry on in those parts. It was from that capital of Guzarat that all orders were to be issued for the inferior settlements. Thither all goods destined for Europe were to be brought.

The French make Surat the center of their trade.

GUZARAT forms a peninsula between the Indus and Malabar. It is about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and much the same in breadth. It is separated from the kingdom of Agra by the mountains of Marva. It rains there incessantly from June to September; at all other times the sky is so clear, that scarce a cloud is to be seen. The burning heat of the sun, however, is happily tempered by refreshing dews, which cool the air and moisten the ground. The richness of a soil abounding in corn, rice, sugar, cotton, cattle, game, fruits of all kinds continually succeeding each other, added to a variety of important manufactures, was sufficient for the happiness of the inhabitants; when, in the beginning of the eighth century, strangers came and introduced new branches of industry among them.

Account of this famous city, and of the province of Guzarat in which it is situated.

SOME Persians, who were persecuted for their opinions by the Saracens their conquerors, took refuge in the isle of Ormus, whence they sailed

some time after for India, and landed at Diu. In this asylum they continued only nineteen years, and then embarked again. They were driven by the winds upon a pleasant shore between Daman and Baçaim. The prince who governed that country consented to receive them as his subjects, on condition that they should reveal the mysteries of their belief, that they should lay down their arms, that they should speak the Indian language, that their women should go abroad unveiled, and that they should celebrate their nuptials at the close of the evening, according to the custom of the country. As these stipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, whence they soon spread further up the country.

A HABIT of labour happily contracted by necessity had made both the lands and the manufactures prosper in their hands. They were so wise as not to interfere with government or war, and enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midst of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In consequence of this circumspection, and of the affluence in which they lived, they multiplied very fast. They always remained a separate people, distinguished by the name of Parfies, never inter-marrying with the Indians, and adhering to the principles which had occasioned their banishment. Their tenets were those of Zoroaster, somewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciousness of the priests.

THE

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

21

BOOK
IV.

THE prosperity of Guzarat, partly owing to the exiled Persians, excited the ambition of two formidable powers. Whilst the Portuguese annoyed it on the side of the sea by the ravages they committed, by the victories they gained, and by the conquest of Diu, justly esteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already masters of the north of India, and eager to advance towards the southern parts where trade and riches were to be found, threatened it from the continent.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, saw how impossible it would be for him at once to withstand two such enemies, both bent upon his destruction. He thought he had less to fear from a people whose forces were separated from their dominions by immense seas, than from a nation firmly settled on the frontiers of his provinces. This consideration made him determine to be reconciled with the Portuguese. The concessions he made induced them to join with him against Akbar, whose activity and courage they dreaded little less than he did.

THIS alliance disconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the consternation into which these conquerors had thrown them, represented them to the Mogul soldiers as men come down from heaven, or risen from the waters, of a species infinitely superior to the Asiatics, and far surpassing them in valour, genius, and knowledge. The army,

seized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akbar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conquest must command his own troops, hastened to his camp. He did not hesitate to promise his troops that they should subdue a people enervated by luxury, riches, pleasures, and the heat of the climate; and that the glory of purging Asia of that handful of banditti was reserved for them. The army, thus encouraged, expressed their satisfaction, and marched on with confidence. They soon came to an engagement; the Portuguese, ill seconded by their allies, were surrounded and cut to pieces. Badur fled, and never returned. All the cities of Guzarat hastened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom in 1565 became a province of that vast empire which was soon to subdue all Indostan.

UNDER the Mogul government, which was then in its full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tranquillity than before. The manufactures were multiplied at Cambaya, Amadabat, Broitschia, and several other places. New ones were set up in those towns which were yet unacquainted with this branch of industry. The culture of lands was improved, and their productions increased. That part of Malabar which borders upon Guzarat, long since tired of the impositions of the Portuguese, brought their linen cloths thither. The goods manufactured on the banks of the Indus were likewise sent to this country, as they could not conveniently be conveyed down the river, the stream

stream being too rapid above to land them, and below the waters discharging into the sea by so many channels, that they are in a manner lost in the sands. BOOK
IV.

ALL these riches centered at Surat, which stands on the river Tapta, a few miles from the ocean. This city was indebted for this advantage to a fort, which protected the merchants, and to its harbour, the best on that coast, though not an excellent one. The Moguls, who had then no other maritime town, drew all their articles of luxury from thence; and the Europeans, who had not at that time any of the great settlements they have since made at Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel, bought most of their Indian commodities at that place. They were all collected there, as the people of Surat had taken care to procure a navy superior to that of their neighbours.

THEIR ships, which were exceedingly durable, were mostly of a thousand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very strong wood called Teak. Instead of launching them with a costly apparatus and complicated engines, they let the tide into the dock, and it set them afloat. The cordage was made of the bark of the cocoa-tree; it was rougher and less pliable than ours, but at least as strong. Their cotton sails were neither so strong nor so lasting as our hempen ones, but more pliable and less apt to be torn. Instead of pitch, they made use of the gum of a tree called Damar, which was, perhaps, preferable.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

able. The skill of their officers, though but moderate, was sufficient for the seas and the seasons in which they sailed. As to their sailors, called Lascars, the Europeans have found them serviceable in their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed successfully in bringing home into our stormy latitudes such ships as had lost their crews.

So many united advantages had brought to Surat a great concourse of Moguls, Indians, Persians, Arabs, Armenians, Jews, and Europeans. We hardly suspected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, while these principles were already known and practised in this part of Asia. The value of money was very low, and it was easily obtained; and bills of exchange might be had for every market in India. Insurances for the most distant navigations were very common. Such was the honesty of these traders, that bags of money, ticketed and sealed by the bankers, would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportionable to the facility with which they were to be acquired by trade. Those of five or six millions* were not uncommon, and some were even more considerable.

THESE fortunes were mostly possessed by the Banians, a set of traders who were noted for their honesty. A few moments were sufficient for them to transact the most important business. In the most intricate discussions, they preserved an even-

* About 240,000 l. on an average.

ness of temper and a politeness which can hardly be conceived. BOOK IV.

THEIR children, who assisted at all bargains, were early trained up to this gentleness of manners. Upon the first dawning of reason, they were initiated into all the mysteries of trade. It was a common thing to see a child, of ten or twelve years old, able to supply his father's place. What a contrast, what a distance, between this and the education of our children; and yet, what a difference between the attainments of the Indians and the progress of our knowledge!

SUCH of the Banians as had Abyssinian slaves, and very few of these good-natured men had any, treated them with such humanity as must appear very singular to us. They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, trained them to business, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themselves, and not only suffered them to enjoy the profits, but even allowed them to dispose of them in favour of their descendants, if they had any.

THE expences of the Banians were not proportioned to their fortunes. As they were restrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat or drinking strong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain dishes. They never departed from this frugality but upon the settlement of their children. On this single occasion, no expence was spared for the entertainment, or for the music, dancing, and fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding

ding had cost. Sometimes it amounted to a hundred thousand crowns †.

EVEN their women had a taste for this simplicity of manners. All their glory consisted in pleasing their husbands. Perhaps, the great veneration in which they held the nuptial tie arose from the custom of marrying them in their earliest infancy. That sentiment was in their opinion the most sacred part of their religion. They never did allow themselves the least conversation with strangers. Less reserve would not have satisfied their husbands, who could not hear without astonishment of the familiarity that prevailed between the two sexes in Europe. When they were told that this freedom was attended with no ill consequence, they were not convinced; but shook their heads, and answered by one of their proverbs, which signifies, *That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can hardly keep it from melting.*

EXCEPTING the Moguls, who were in possession of all places under the government, were very extravagant in their stables, their baths, and their seraglios, and ran into every kind of indulgence to drown the sense of despotism under which they lived; all the merchants of Surat conformed to the frugality of the Banians, as far as the difference of religion would admit. Their greatest expence was the decorating of their houses.

THESE were contrived in the best manner to guard against the heat of the climate. The outside walls were covered with beautiful wainscot-

† 13, 125 l.

ing, and the inside ones, as well as the cielings, inlaid with porcelain. The panes of their windows were shell or mother of pearl, which tempered the glare of the sun without too much obstructing the light. The apartments were neatly disposed and furnished, suitably to the customs of the country; and one of the rooms was distinguished from the rest by a fountain of water spouting up from a marble basin, whose gentle murmurs invited the company to soft slumbers.

DURING their repose, the common indulgence of the inhabitants of Surat was to stretch themselves upon a sofa, where they were rubbed by men of singular dexterity, or rather kneaded, if we may be allowed the expression, like dough. The necessity of promoting the circulation of the fluids, too often retarded by the heat of the climate, first suggested the notion of this exercise, which affords them an infinite variety of delightful sensations. They fall into such a state of languor, that they sometimes almost faint away. This custom was said to be brought into India from China; and some epigrams of Martial, and declamations of Seneca, seem to hint that it was not unknown to the Romans at the time when they refined upon every pleasure, as the tyrants who enslaved those masters of the world afterwards refined upon every torture.

THEY had another species of pleasure at Surat, which, perhaps, our effeminacy would have enjoyed them still more; and this was their female dancers,

dancers, whom the Europeans call *Balladieres*, a name given them by the Portuguese.

NUMBERS of these are collected together in seminaries of pleasure. The most accomplished of these societies are devoted to the richest and most frequented Pagodas. Their destination is to dance in the temples on their great festivals, and to be subservient to the pleasures of the Bramins. These priests, who have not taken the artful and deceitful vow of renouncing the enjoyment of all pleasures in order to have the opportunity of indulging in them more freely, chuse rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile celibacy and wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are jealous of the dancers, whose worship and vows they share with the gods; but they never suffer them without reluctance to contribute to the amusement even of kings and great men,

THE rise of this singular institution is not known. Probably, one Bramin, who had a concubine or a wife, associated with another Bramin, who had likewise his concubine or his wife; and, in process of time, the mixture of so many Bramins and women occasioned such confusion, that the women came to be common to all those priests. Let but a number of single persons of both sexes be collected in a cloyster, and a commonalty of men and women will soon take place.

By this mutual intercourse, a jealousy was probably extinguished; and the women were not uneasy at the increase of their numbers, nor the
Bramins

Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new conquest than a rivalry.

BOOK
IV.

It is no less probable, that, in order to palliate the infamy of this licentiousness in the eyes of the people, all women were consecrated to the service of the altars; and that the people readily consented to this kind of superstition, as it insured their wives and daughters from seduction, by confining the lawless desires of these monks to one particular spot.

THE contrivance of stamping a sacred character upon these courtezans, might possibly make parents the more willing to part with their beautiful daughters, and to consent that they should follow their calling, and devote themselves to these seminaries, from whence the superannuated women might return to society without disgrace: for there is no crime that may not be sanctified, no virtue that may not be debased, by the intervention of the gods. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty priest, be made subversive of all morality. He will affirm, not that such a thing is pleasing to the gods, because it is good; but that such a thing is good, because it is pleasing to the gods.

THE Bramins wanted only to gain another point in order to complete this institution; which was, to persuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleasing to the gods, to marry a balladiere in preference to all other women, and thereby induce them to solicit the remains of their debaucheries as a particular mark of favour.

IN

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

IN every city there are other companies, not so well instructed as the former, for the amusement of the rich. The Moors and Gentiles may equally procure a sight of these dancers at their country-houses, or in their public assemblies. There are even strolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who, having been themselves trained up in these seminaries, in time are promoted to the direction of them.

THESE handsome girls have the custom, as singular as it is disgusting, of being always followed by an old deformed musician, whose employment is to beat time with an instrument of brass, which the Europeans have lately borrowed of the Turks to add to their military music, and which in India is called a *tam*. The man who holds it is continually repeating that word with such vehemence, that by degrees he works himself up into dreadful convulsions; whilst the balladiers, intoxicated with the desire of pleasing, and the sweets with which they are perfumed, at length lose their senses.

THEIR dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the design, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence, all is expressive of this passion, with all its raptures and extravagances.

EVERY thing conspires to the amazing success of these voluptuous women; the art and richness of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in setting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling over their shoulders, or braided and turned up, is loaded with diamonds, and stuck with flowers.

Their

Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious stones. Even their nose jewels, an ornament which shocks us at first sight, has something pleasing in it, and sets off all the other ornaments by a certain symmetry, whose effect, though inexplicable, is yet sensibly felt by degrees.

Nothing can equal the care they take to preserve their breasts, as one of the most striking marks of their beauty. To prevent them from growing large or ill-shaped, they inclose them in two cases made of an exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind. These cases are so smooth and so supple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the skin. The outside of these cases is covered with a leaf of gold studded with diamonds. This is certainly one of the most refined kind of ornaments, and the best calculated to preserve beauty. They take it off and put it on again with singular facility. This covering of the breast does not prevent the palpitations, heavings, and tender emotions of it from being perceived: it conceals nothing that can contribute to excite desire.

Most of these dancers imagine it an addition to the beauty of their complexion, and the impression of their looks, to trace a black circle round their eyes with a hair bodkin, dipped in the powder of antimony. This borrowed beauty, celebrated by all the eastern poets, appeared very singular at first to the Europeans; but custom has reconciled them to it.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

THE whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the balladiers consists in the art of pleasing. It is not easy to resist their seducing manners. They are even preferred to those beauties of Cassimere, which fill the seraglios of Indostan, as the fair Georgians and Circassians do those of Isphahan and Constantinople. The modesty, or rather the reserve of proud slaves, sequestered from the society of men, cannot balance the arts of these expert courtezans.

THEY were no where so much in repute as at Surat, the richest and most populous city in India. It began to decline in 1664; and was pillaged by the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty-five or thirty millions*. The plunder would have been infinitely greater, had not the English and Dutch escaped the public calamity, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the most valuable effects been lodged in the castle, which was out of the enemy's reach. This loss made the inhabitants more cautious. They built walls round the city, to prevent the like misfortune; the effects of which were removed, when the English, in 1686, with shameful and inexcusable rapacity, stopped all the ships that were sitting out at Surat to be dispatched to the several seas. This piracy, which lasted three years, deprived this famous mart of almost every branch of trade that was not its own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to its own natural riches.

* About 1,200,000*l.* on an average.

OTHER pirates have since infested those latitudes, and from time to time disturbed the trade of Surat. Even their caravans, that carried their merchandises to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not always secured from the attacks of the subjects of the independent rajas, which they met with on the several roads. They had formerly recourse to a singular expedient for the security of their caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or child, of a race held sacred by the nations they dreaded. When the banditti appeared, the guardians of the caravans threatened to destroy themselves if they persisted in their resolution of plundering it, and actually did so if they did not yield to their remonstrances. These profligate men, who had not been restrained by respect of blood held sacred, were excommunicated, degraded, and cast out of their tribe. The dread of these severe punishments was sometimes a check upon avarice; but since universal commotions have prevailed in Indostan, no consideration can allay the thirst of gold.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these misfortunes, Surat is still a great trading city. The produce of the numberless manufactures all over Guzarat is deposited in its warehouses. A great part is carried into the inland countries; the rest is conveyed to all parts of the globe by constant voyages.

THE goods more commonly known are, 1st, Dutties, a kind of coarse unbleached cloth, worn in Persia, Arabia, Abyssinia, and the eastern coast of Africa; and blue linens, which are disposed of

in the same manner, and are likewise sold to the English and Dutch for their Guinea trade.

2. THE blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are worn for mantles in Arabia and Turkey: some are coarse, and some fine, and some even mixed with gold for the use of the rich.

3. THE white linens of Broitschia, so well known by the name of Bafras. As they are extremely fine, they make summer castans for the Turks and Persians. The sort of muslin, with a gold stripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the same place.

4. THE printed callicoes of Amadabat, whose colours are as bright, as fine, and as durable, as those of Coromandel. They are worn in Persia, in Turkey, and in Europe. The rich people of Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca islands, make pagnes and coverlets of these chintzes.

5. THE gauzes of Biarapour; the blue ones are worn by the common people in Persia and Turkey for their summer cloathing, and the red ones by persons of higher rank. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their turbans with these gauzes.

6. MIXED stuffs of silk and cotton, plain, striped, some with sattin stripes, some mixed with gold and silver. If they were not so dear, they would be esteemed even in Europe for the brightness of their colours, and the fine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are so indifferent. They soon wear out; but this is of little consequence in the seraglios of Turkey and Persia where they are used.

7. SOME

7. SOME are all silk, called tapis. These are pagnes of several colours, much esteemed in the eastern parts of India. Many more would be wove, if it had not been necessary to use foreign materials, which enhances the price too much.

8. SHAULS, very light, warm, and fine cloths, made of the wool of Cassimere. They are dyed of different colours, striped, and flowered. They are worn for a winter dress in Turkey, Persia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this fine wool turbans are woven, that are ell-wide, and a little more than three ells long, which sell from 2400 to 3600 livres*. Though this wool is sometimes manufactured at Surat, the finest works of this kind are made at Cassimere.

BESIDES the prodigious quantity of cotton made use of in the manufactures of Surat, seven or eight thousand bales at least are annually sent to Bengal. Much more is sent to China, Persia, and Arabia, when the crops are very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus is carried down the Ganges, where it is always sold at a higher price.

THOUGH Surat receives, in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China; silk from Bengal and Persia; masts and pepper from Malabar; gums, dates, dried fruits, copper, and pearls, from Persia; perfumes and slaves from Arabia; great quantities of spices from the Dutch; iron, lead, cloth, cochineal, and some hard wares from the English; the balance is so much in her favour, as

* About 130l. on an average.

to bring in yearly twenty-five or twenty-six millions of livres* in ready money. The profit would be much greater, if the riches of the court of Delhi were not conveyed into another channel.

HOWEVER, this balance could never again rise to what it was when the French settled at Surat in 1668. Their leader was one Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grown old in the service of the Dutch company. Hamilton says, that this able man, who had ingratiated himself with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a house for his masters on the island where the factory stood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a castle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification, did not entertain any suspicion of it. They surprised some pieces of cannon that were sending from Batavia, and informed the court of what was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As he had nothing reasonable to alledge in his vindication, he was treated with great severity and contempt. They plucked off his beard by the roots, put him on a fool's cap and coat, and in this condition exposed him to the insults of the populace, and he was banished from the empire. The reception he met with at Java gave him a disgust against the interest he had espoused; and, actuated by revenge, he went over to the French, and became their agent.

* On an average about 1,116,000*l*.

SURAT, where they had fixed him, did not answer his idea of a chief settlement. He disliked the situation; he lamented his being obliged to purchase his safety by submission; he foresaw it would be a disadvantage to carry on trade in competition with richer nations, who knew more, and were held in greater esteem, than themselves. He wished to find an independent port in the center of India, or in some of the spice islands, without which he thought it impossible for any company to support itself. The Bay of Trinquimalé, in the island of Ceylon, appeared to him to unite all these advantages; and he accordingly sailed for that place with a powerful squadron, which had been sent him from Europe under the command of La Haye, who was to act under his direction. The French believed, or feigned to believe, that a settlement might be made there without encroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whose property had never been acknowledged by the sovereign of the island, with whom they had entered into a treaty.

Attack of the French upon the islands of Ceylon and St. Thomas. Their settlement at Pondicherry.

ALL that they alledged might indeed be true, but the event did not answer their expectation. They divulged a project which they ought to have kept a profound secret; they executed deliberately an expedition which ought to have been effected by surprize; they were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not possibly have received orders to hazard an engagement. The greater part of the ships crews and of the land forces perished by want and sickness; some men were left in a

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

small fort they had erected, where they were soon compelled to surrender. With the remaining few who had survived the hardships of this expedition, they went in search of provisions on the coast of Coromandel; but finding none either at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, or any where else, impelled by despair, they attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

THIS town, which had long been in a flourishing condition, had been built by the Portuguese above a hundred years before. The king of Golconda, having conquered the Carnatic, did not see without regret so important a place in foreign hands; he sent his generals to attack it in 1662, and they made themselves masters of it. The fortifications, though considerable and in good repair, did not stop the progress of the French, who took them by storm in 1672. They were soon attacked here, and were forced to surrender two years after; because the Dutch, who were at war with Lewis XIV. joined with the Indians to expel them.

THIS last event would have entirely ruined the enterprize, after all the expence the government had been at to support the company, had not Martin been one of the merchants sent on board La Haye's squadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondicherry, that had been lately ceded to him, and was rising to a city, when the company entertained
good

good hopes of a new settlement which they had now an opportunity of forming in India.

SOME missionaries had preached the gospel at Siam. They had gained the love of the people by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue or avarice, they gave no jealousy to the government nor to the people; they had inspired them with respect and love for the French in general, and in particular for Lewis XIV.

A GREEK, of a restless and ambitious spirit, named Constantine Faulkon, in his travels to Siam, had so far engaged the affections of the prince, that in a short time he raised him to the post of prime minister, or barcalon, an office which nearly answers to the ancient *maires* of the palace of France.

FAULKON governed both the people and the king in the most despotic manner. The prince was weak, a valetudinarian, and had no issue. His minister conceived a project to succeed him; possibly to dethrone him. It is well known that these attempts are as easy and as frequent in absolute governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of justice; where the origin and measure of his authority is regulated by fundamental and immutable laws, which are under the guardianship of numbers of able magistrates. There the enemies of the sovereign shew that they are enemies of the state; there they find themselves soon thwarted in their designs by all the forces of the nation; because, by rebelling against the chief, they rebel

BOOK
IV.

Settlement
of the
French at
Siam.
Their de-
signs on
Tonquin
and Co-
chinchina.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

against the laws, which are the standing and immutable will of the nation.

FAULKON formed the design of making the French subservient to his scheme, as some ambitious men had formerly made use of a guard of six hundred Japanese, who had often disposed of the crown of Siam. He sent ambassadors into France in 1684, to make a tender of his master's alliance, to offer sea-ports to the French merchants, and to ask for ships and troops.

THE ostentatious vanity of Lewis XIV. took advantage of this embassy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he deserved commendation, persuaded him that his fame, spread throughout the world, had procured to him the homage of the East. He did not content himself with the enjoyment of these vain honours; but endeavoured to improve the dispositions of the king of Siam to the benefit of the India company, and still more of the missionaries. He sent out a squadron in which there were a greater number of Jesuits than traders; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French ambassadors, directed by the Jesuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to those of commerce.

THE company still entertained great hopes of the settlement at Siam, and these hopes were not ill grounded.

THAT kingdom, though divided by a ridge of mountains that is continued till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is so prodigiously fruitful, that many of its cultivated lands yield two hundred times

times more than others. Some will even bear plentiful crops spontaneously. The corn, collected as it was at first produced, without care and without trouble, left as it were to nature, falls off and perishes in the field where it grew, in order to vegetate again in the waters of the stream that flows through the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in such plenty and variety, or are so wholesome, as in this delightful spot. Some are peculiar to the country; and those which are equally the produce of other countries have a much finer smell, and are much higher flavoured, than in any other part of the world.

THE earth, always covered with these treasures, which are constantly springing up afresh, also conceals, under a very thin surface, mines of gold, copper, loadstone, iron, lead, and calin, a species of tin which is highly valued throughout Asia.

ALL these advantages are rendered useless by the greatest tyranny. A prince corrupted by his power, while he is indulging in his seraglio, oppresses his people by his caprices, or suffers them to be oppressed by his indolence. At Siam there are no subjects, all are slaves. The men are divided into three classes: the first serve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and are employed in different manufactures in his palace. The second are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the state. The third class are destined to serve the magistrates, the ministers, and principal officers of the kingdom. No Siamese is advanced to any emi-

ment post, but he is allowed a certain number of men who are at his disposal; so that the salaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, because they are not paid in money, but in men, who cost the prince nothing. These unfortunate people are registered at the age of sixteen. Every one on the first summons must repair to the post assigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the bastinado.

In a country where all the men must work for the government during six months in the year, without being paid or subsisted, and the other six to earn a maintenance for the whole year; in such a country, the very lands must feel the effects of tyranny, and consequently there is no property. The delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch and the nobles, are not suffered to ripen in those of private men. If the soldiers who are sent out to examine the orchards discover some tree laden with choice fruits, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or that of his ministers. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is answerable for the fruit under very severe penalties.

THE men are not only slaves to men, but to the very beasts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Those of his palace are taken care of, and have extraordinary honours paid to them. The meanest have fifteen slaves to attend them, who are constantly employed in cutting hay, and gathering bananas and sugar-canes for them. The king takes so much pride in these creatures, which are of no real use, that he estimates his
power

power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding these animals well, their attendants will drive them into gardens and cultivated lands, that they may trample upon them, unless the owners will purchase an exemption from these hardships by continual presents. No man would dare to inclose his field against the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the highest dignities in the state.

SUCH various exertions of tyranny make the Siamese detest their native country, though they look upon it as the best upon earth. Most of them fly from oppression into the forests, where they lead a savage life, infinitely preferable to that of society corrupted by despotism. So great is this desertion, that, from the port of Mergui to Juthia the capital of the empire, one may travel for a week together, without meeting with the least sign of population, through an immense extent of country well watered, the soil of which is excellent, and still bears the marks of former culture. This fine country is now over-run with tigers.

It was formerly inhabited by men. Besides the natives, it was full of settlements that had been successively formed there by the nations situated to the east of Asia. Their inducement was the immense trade carried on there. All historians attest, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century a great number of ships came into their roads every year. The tyranny which prevailed soon after, successively destroyed the mines, the manufactures, and

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

and agriculture. All the foreign merchants, and even those of the nation, were involved in the same ruin. The state fell into confusion, and consequently was weakened. The French, on their arrival, found it thus reduced. General poverty prevailed, and none of the arts were exercised; while the people were under the dominion of a despotic tyrant, who, engrossing all the trade to himself, must of course destroy it. The few ornaments and articles of luxury that were in use at court, and in the houses of the great, came from Japan. The Siamese held the Japanese in high estimation, and preferred their works to all others.

It was no easy matter to divert them from this attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French industry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Christian religion, which the priests of the foreign missions had preached to them, and not without success; but the Jesuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abused the favour they enjoyed at Court, and drew upon themselves the hatred of the people. This odium was transferred from them to their religion. They built churches before there were any christians to frequent them. They founded monasteries, and by these proceedings occasioned the common people and the Talapoys to revolt. The Talapoys are their monks; some of whom lead a solitary life, and others are busy, intriguing men. They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of Sommona Kodom. That lawgiver of the Siamese

meſe was long honoured as a ſage, and has ſince been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity, a ſon of god. A variety of marvellous ſtorieſ are told of this man: He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing elſe to beſtow on him. Another time he gave away his wife. He commanded the ſtars, the rivers, and the mountains. But he had a brother, who frequently opposed his deſigns for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable prejudiced the Siameſe againſt the religion of a crucified God; and they could not worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he died the ſame death as the brother of Sommona Kodom.

If the French could not carry their commodities to Siam, they could at leaſt inſpire the people with a taſte for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themſelves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the eaſt. The ſituation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it extends one hundred and ſixty leagues along the ſea-coaſt on the one gulph, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the ſeas in that part of the world. The fortreſs of Bancoc built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all tranſactions they might have had with China, the Philip-pines, or any of the eaſtern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the kingdom, and one of the beſt in Aſia, which had like-
wiſe

wife been ceded to them, greatly facilitated their trade with the coast of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal. It secured to them an advantageous intercourse with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Lagos, countries still more barbarous than Siam, but where are found the finest rubies and some gold dust. All these countries, as well as Siam, produce the tree which yields that valuable gum, with which the Chinese and Japanese make their varnish; and whoever is in possession of this commodity, may be certain of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

BESIDES the advantage of meeting with good settlements, which were no expence to the company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the east, they might have brought home from Siam, ivory, logwood like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of cassia, and all the buffalo and deer-skins that the Dutch formerly fetched from thence. They might have grown pepper there, and, possibly, other spices which were not to be found in the country, as the people did not understand the culture of them, and because the wretched inhabitants of Siam are so indifferent to every thing, that nothing succeeds with them.

THE French paid no attention to these objects. The factors of the company, the officers, and the Jesuits, were equally ignorant of trade: the whole attention of the latter was taken up in converting the natives, and making themselves masters of them. At last, after having given but a weak

assistance to Faulkon at the instant when he was ready to execute his designs, they were involved in his disgrace; and the fortresses of Mergui and Bancoc, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the meanest of all nations.

DURING the short time that the French were settled at Siam, the company endeavoured to establish themselves at Tonquin. They flattered themselves that they might trade with safety and advantage with a nation which had for ages been instructed by the Chinese. Theism prevails among them, which is the religion of Confucius, whose precepts and writings are there held in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the same agreement as in China in the principles of government, religion, laws, opinion, rites, and ceremonies: and though Tonquin has the same law-giver, it is far from having the same morals. We find there neither that respect for parents, that love for the prince, those reciprocal affections, nor those social virtues, which are met with in China; nor have they the same good order, police, industry, or activity.

THIS nation, which is devoted to excessive indolence, and is voluptuous without taste or delicacy, lives in constant distrust of its sovereigns and of strangers. It is doubtful whether this mistrust proceeds from a natural restlessness of temper, or whether their spirit of sedition be owing to this circumstance, that the Chinese system of morality has enlightened the people without improving the government. Whatever be the pro-
gress

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

gress of knowledge, whether it comes from the people to the government, or from that to the people, it is necessary that both should be enlightened at the same time, or else the state will be exposed to fatal revolutions. In Tonquin, there is a continual struggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languishes and tends to ruin, in consequence of these dissensions; and the calamities must increase, till the people have compelled their masters to grow wiser, or the masters have rendered their subjects quite insensible. The Portuguese and the Dutch, who had attempted to form some connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more successful. No Europeans have since carried on that trade, except some few merchants of Madras, who have alternately forsaken and resumed it. They divide with the Chinese the exportation of copper and ordinary silks, the only commodities of any value that country affords.

COCHINCHINA lay too near Siam not to draw the attention of the French; and they would probably have fixed there, had they had sagacity enough to foresee what degree of splendour that rising state would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philosophical traveller for what little they know with certainty of that fine country. The following is the result of his observations:

WHEN the French arrived in those distant regions, they learned, that, about half a century before, a prince of Tonquin, as he fled from his sovereign

sovereign who pursued him as a rebel, had with his soldiers and adherents crossed the river, which serves as a barrier between Tonquin and Cochinchina. The fugitives, who were warlike and civilized men, soon expelled the scattered inhabitants, who wandered about without any society or form of government, or any laws but that mutual interest which prompted them not to injure one another. Here they founded an empire upon the basis of agriculture and property. Rice was the food the most easily cultivated, and the most plentiful; upon this, therefore, the new colonists bestowed their first attention. The sea and the rivers attracted a number of inhabitants to their borders, by the supply of excellent fish they afforded. Domestic animals were bred there, some for food, and others for labour. The inhabitants cultivated the trees they were most in want of, such as the cotton for their clothing. The mountains and forests, which could not possibly be cultivated, afforded wild fowl, metals, gums, perfumes, and wood of an excellent kind. These productions served as so many materials, means, and objects of commerce. One hundred galleies were built, which are constantly employed in defending the coasts of the kingdom.

All these several advantages were well bestowed upon a people of a mild and humane disposition, a disposition which they partly owe to their women. Whether it be that this influence they acquire is owing to their beauty, or whether it is the particular effect of their assiduity and of their skill in business; in general, it is certain, that in the first

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

beginning of all societies, the women are sooner civilized than the men. Even their weakness, and their sedentary life, their being more taken up with fewer cares, furnish them sooner with that knowledge and experience, and incline them to those domestic attachments, which are the first promoters and strongest ties of society. This is, perhaps, the reason why, in many savage nations, the women are intrusted with the administration of civil government, which is but a higher degree of domestic oeconomy. So long as the state is but as one great family, the women are capable of undertaking the management of it. Then, undoubtedly, the people are happiest, especially in a climate where nature has left but little for man to do.

SUCH is the climate of Cochinchina. The people, though but imperfectly civilized, enjoy that happiness which might excite the envy of more improved societies. They have neither robbers nor beggars. Every one is at liberty to live at his own house, or at his neighbour's. A traveller freely enters a house in any village, sits down to table, eats and drinks, without being invited or asked any questions, and then goes away without acknowledging the civility. He is a man, and therefore a friend and relation of the family. If he were a foreigner, he would excite more curiosity, but would be equally welcome.

THESE customs are the relics of the government of the first six kings of Cochinchina, and derived from the original contract entered into between the nation and their leader, before they crossed the river
that

that divides Tonquin from Cochinchina. These men were weary of oppression. They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard against the abuse of authority, which is so apt to transgress its due limits, if not kept under some restraint. Their chief, who had set them an example of liberty, and taught them to revolt, promised them that felicity which he himself chose to enjoy; that of a just, mild, and parental government. He cultivated with them the land in which they had all taken refuge. He never demanded any thing of them, except an annual and voluntary contribution, to enable him to defend the nation against the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, pursued them beyond the river which separated them from him.

This primitive contract was religiously observed for upwards of a century, under five or six successors of that brave deliverer: but at last it has been infringed. The reciprocal and solemn engagement between the king and his people is still renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general assembly of the whole nation, held in an open field, where the oldest man presides, and where the king only assists as a private person. He still honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predecessors, set the example of labour to his subjects. When he speaks of them, he still says, *they are my children*; but they are no longer so. His courtiers have stiled themselves his slaves, and have given him the pompous and sacrilegious title of *king of heaven*. From that moment, men must have appeared to him but as so many insects

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

creeping on the ground. The gold which he has taken out of the mines, has put a stop to agriculture. He has despised the homely roof of his ancestors, and would build a palace. Its circumference has been marked out, and is a league in extent. Thousands of cannon planted round the walls of this palace, make it formidable to the people. A despotic monarch resides there, who in a short time will be secluded from the eyes of the people; and this concealment, which characterises the majesty of eastern kings, will substitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

THE discovery of gold has brought on that of taxes; and the administration of the finances will soon take place of civil legislation and social contract. Contributions are no longer voluntary, but are extorted. Designing men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchase a right of committing crimes and the privilege of impunity; they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magistrates, and oppress the husbandmen. The traveller already sees, as he passes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages forsaken by their inhabitants. This *king of heaven*, like the gods of Epicurus, carelessly suffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the sufferings and distresses of his people, who will soon fall into a state of annihilation, like the savages whose territories they now possess. All nations governed by despotism must inevitably perish in this manner. If Cochin-China relapses into
that

that state of confusion out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly disregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom. The Chinese, who carry on the greatest trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for small work, and timber for building houses and ships.

They also export from thence an immense quantity of sugar, the raw at four livres * a hundred weight, the white at eight †, and sugar-candy at ten ‡: very good silk, fattins, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures: black and ordinary tea, which serves for the consumption of common people: such excellent cinnamon, that it sells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon. There is but a small quantity of this; as it grows only upon one mountain, which is always surrounded with guards. Excellent pepper is another article; and such pure iron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without smelting: gold of three and twenty carrats, which is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the East: eagle-wood, which is more or less esteemed as it is more or less resinous. The pieces that contain most of this resin are commonly taken from the heart, or from the root of the tree. They are called calunbac, and are always sold for their weight in gold to the Chinese, who account them the highest cordial in

* 3s. 6d.

† 7s.

‡ 8s. 9d.

nature. They are carefully preserved in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying. When they are to be administered, they are ground upon a marble, with such liquids as are best suited to the disorder they are intended to remove. The inferior eagle-wood, which always sells for a hundred livres * a pound at least, is carried to Persia, Turkey, and Arabia. They use it to perfume their cloaths, and sometimes their apartments, upon very extraordinary occasions, and then they mix it with amber. It is also used for another purpose. A custom prevails amongst these nations, when they are desirous of shewing their visitors great marks of civility, to present them with pipes, then with coffee and sweetmeats. When conversation begins to grow languid, the sherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As soon as the stranger rises to go away, they bring in a little pan with eagle-wood, and perfume his beard, sprinkling it with rose-water.

THOUGH the French, who had scarce any thing else to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimstone, were obliged to trade with Cochin-china chiefly in money, yet they were under a necessity of pursuing this trade in competition with the Chinese. This inconvenience might have been obviated by the profit that would have been made upon goods sent to Europe, or sold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honesty, the essentials of an active and lasting trade, are forsaking these regions, which were formerly

* 4l. 7s. 6d.

so flourishing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and consequently unjust. In a short time no greater number of ships will be seen in their harbours than in those of the neighbouring states, where they were scarcely known.

HOWEVER this may be, the French company driven from Siam, and without hopes of settling at the extremities of Asia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, since they had left it without paying their debts. They had lost the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loss in the purchase of goods to answer the capricious demands of the mother country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered the privilege they had forfeited. The Mogul government, which would have wished to see a greater number of ships resorting to Surat, often solicited the French to satisfy these claims; for they preferred them to the English, who had purchased of the court an exemption from all duties. Whether it was for want of honesty, of skill, or of means, certain it is that the company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry, when they were suddenly prevented by a bloody war, which was owing to remote causes.

THE northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was mistress of the world, established a form of government which would

The loss
and reco-
very of
Pondi-
cherry,
which be-

came the
chief set-
tlement
in India.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

not admit of augmenting their conquests, and kept every state within its natural limits. The abolition of the feudal laws, and the alterations consequent upon it, seemed to tend a second time to establish a kind of universal monarchy; but the Austrian power, weakened by the great extent of its possessions and their distance from each other, could not subvert the bulwarks that were raising against it. After a whole century passed in contests, hopes, and disappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whose strength, position, and activity, rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert settled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of industry. If Lewis XIV. who may be said to have been not, perhaps, the greatest monarch of his age, but one who best supported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exercise of his power, and the sense of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own subjects to his will, he wanted to exert power over his neighbours. His pride raised him more enemies than his influence and his genius could supply him with allies and resources.

He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyrists and courtiers, who promised him universal monarchy; and the pleasure he took in these adulations contributed still more than the extent

of his power to inspire a dread of universal conquest and slavery. The distresses and invectives of his protestant subjects, dispersed by a tyrannical fanaticism, completed the hatred he had incurred by his successes, and the abuse he had made of his prosperity.

THE Prince of Orange, a man of a steady, upright disposition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is consistent with ambition, became the chief instigator of all these resentments, which he had long fomented by his negotiations and his emissaries. France was attacked by the most formidable confederacy recorded in history, and yet she was constantly triumphant.

SHE was not so successful in Asia as in Europe. The Dutch first endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to restore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpose, was not to be bribed to agree to so perfidious a proposal: His constant answer was, *The French have bought that place, it would be unjust to turn them out.* What the Raja refused to do, the Dutch did themselves: they besieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to restore it at the peace of Ryfwick, in a much better condition than they found it.

MARTIN was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the company with that wisdom, skill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant invited many new settlers to Pondicherry, and made the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained

maintained there; and by his moderation and justice. He acquired the favour of the neighbouring princes, whose friendship was of consequence to an infant settlement. He chose or formed good subjects, whom he sent to the markets of Asia, and to the several princes of that empire. He had persuaded the French, that as they were come last to India, that as they found themselves there in a weak condition, and could not expect any assistance from their own country, that they had no other way of succeeding, but by inspiring the natives with a favourable opinion of their character. He made them lay aside that levity, and those contemptuous airs, which so often make their nation insufferable to strangers. They grew modest, gentle, and attentive to business; they learned the art of behaving suitable to the genius of the several nations, and to particular circumstances. Those who did not confine themselves to the company's service, frequenting different courts, became acquainted with the places where the finest stuffs were manufactured, the staples where the choicest commodities were to be met with, and, in short, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

ALL that Martin had it in his power to accomplish, was to lay the foundation of future success to the company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he gained, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all
this

this was not sufficient to restore the declining state of the company, subject from its infancy to such disorders as must at length certainly destroy it.

His first scheme was to establish a great empire at Madagascar. A single voyage carried over 1688 persons, who were made to expect a delightful climate and a rapid fortune, and found nothing but famine, discord, and death.

Decline of
the French
company,
and the
cause of it.

So unfortunate a beginning discouraged the adventurers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon merely with a view to follow the example of others, or in compliance with solicitations. The owners of shares had not made good their payments with so much punctuality as is required in commercial affairs. The government, which had engaged to advance without interest a fifth part of the sums the company were to receive, and which as yet was only bound to furnish two millions *, again drew the same sum out of the public treasury, in hopes of supporting the work it had begun. Some time after its generosity was carried still further, and freely gave what at first was only lent.

THIS encouragement from the ministry could not, however, enable the company to proceed in their designs. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry; and to abandon their settlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tilseri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon, and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and some were ill situated; but the inability they were under of sup-

* 87,500*l*.

porting

porting them was the only reason that they were abandoned.

Soon after this, it became necessary to make further advances. In 1682, they gave permission indiscriminately to French subjects and foreigners to trade to the East-Indies for five years on the company's ships, paying the freight that should be agreed upon; and on condition that the goods brought home should be deposited in the company's warehouses, sold at the same time with theirs, and be subject to a duty of five *per cent*. The public so eagerly came into this proposal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increase of these small profits, which would be constant without any risk. But the proprietors, less sensible of these moderate advantages, than jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

To support this monopoly with some decency, a fund was wanting. In 1684, the company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a fourth part of their property; and in case any one failed to pay the sum required, his whole share was to be made over to any one who should pay it for him. Whether from perverseness, from particular motives, or from inability, many did not pay, so that their shares lost three fourths of their original value; and, to the disgrace of the nation, there were men barbarous and unjust enough to enrich themselves with their spoils.

AN expedient so dishonourable enabled them to fit out a few ships for Asia; but new wants were soon felt. Their cruel situation, which continually grew worse, put them upon demanding of the proprietors in 1697, the restitution of the dividends of ten and twenty per cent. which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a proposal raised a general clamour. The company were obliged to have recourse to the usual method of borrowing. These loans became more burdensome, the more they were multiplied, as the security was more precarious.

As the company was in want both of money and credit, the emptiness of their coffers put it out of their power to afford those advantages and that encouragement to the merchant in India, without which he will neither work, nor set others to work. This inability reduced the French sales to nothing. It is demonstrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the space of twenty years, the sum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thousand livres*.

To these had been added other abuses. The conduct of the administrators and agents for the company had not been properly directed, or carefully looked into. The capital had been broken into, and dividends paid out of the stock, which ought only to have arisen from the profits. The least brilliant and least prosperous of all reigns had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the easiest, the safest, and

* 204,000 l.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

the most advantageous that is carried on with Asia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

THE bloody war of 1689 added to the calamities of the India company, even by the very successes of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the several harbours in the kingdom, annoyed by their vigilance and bravery the trade of Holland and England. In their numberless prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The company, who by this competition were forced to sell under prime cost, endeavoured to find out some expedient to save themselves from this danger, but could think of none that was reconcileable with the interest of the privateers; nor did the minister think proper to sacrifice an useful set of men to a body, which had so long wearied him with their murmurs and complaints.

BESIDES these, the company had many more causes of discontent. The financiers had shewn an open hatred for them, and were continually opposing or confining them. Supported by those vile associates which they always have at court, they endeavoured to put an end to the India trade, under the specious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at first afraid of being exposed to reproach, by departing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the most solemn edicts: but the farmers of the revenue found means to render those privileges useless, which the ministry would not abolish;

abolish; and the company no longer enjoyed, without being absolutely deprived of them.

BOOK
IV.

HEAVY duties were successively laid upon all India goods. Half a year seldom passed, without some new regulation, sometimes to allow, sometimes to prohibit, the use of these commodities: there was a continued scene of contradictions in a part of administration, that would have required steady and invariable principles. All these variations gave Europe room to think that trade would hardly be established in a kingdom where all depends upon the caprices of a minister, or the interest of those who govern.

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt administration, the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the interested views of the comptrollers of finance, the oppressive spirit of the treasury, joined to other causes, had prepared the ruin of the company. The miseries of the war, carried on for the Spanish succession, hastened their destruction.

EVERY resource was exhausted. The most sanguine saw no prospect of their being able to send out a fleet. Besides, if by unexpected good fortune some few weak vessels should be fitted out, it was to be feared they might be seized in Europe, or in India, by disappointed creditors, who must necessarily be exasperated. These powerful motives determined the company in 1707, to consent that some rich merchants should send their own ships to India; upon condition that they should allow the company fifteen per cent. profit upon the goods they should bring home, and the right of taking such share in those ships as their circumstances should admit of.

Soon

Soon after this, they were *even* reduced to make over the whole and exclusive exercise of their privilege to some privateers of St. Malo, still reserving the same concession, which for some years past had in some degree kept them from ruin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this desperate situation, in 1714 they solicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly expired, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. The ministry, who did not know, or would not perceive, that measures more prudential might be adopted, granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation took place but in part, in consequence of some extraordinary events, the causes of which we shall next inquire into.

The French company recovers something of its ancient splendour by Law's system; but soon relapses into obscurity.

WHOEVER has been accustomed to trace the progress of empires, has always considered the death of Colbert as the event that put an end to the true prosperity of France. She still appeared with some outward splendour, but her inward decay increased daily. Her finances, administered without order or principle, fell a prey to a multitude of rapacious farmers of the revenue. These people made themselves necessary even by their plunders, and went so far as to impose terms to government. The confusion, usury, and continual alterations in the coin, the reductions of interest, the alienations of the domain and of the taxes, engagements which it was impossible to fulfil, the creation of pensions and places, the privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and a thousand other evils, each more ruinous than

than the other, were the consequences of so corrupt an administration.

THE loss of credit soon became universal. Bankruptcies were more frequent. Money grew scarce, and trade was at a stand. The consumption was less. The culture of lands was neglected. Artists went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor cloathing. The nobility served in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the weight of taxes, and were in want of the necessaries of life. The royal effects had lost their value. The contracts upon the *hotel de ville* sold but for half their worth, and the bills of sale fell eighty or ninety per cent. under par. Lewis XIV. a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions *; and was forced to give bonds for 32,000,000 †, which was borrowing at four hundred per cent.

In this confusion were public affairs, when the Duke of Orleans took the reins of government. Those who were for violent measures, proposed to sacrifice the creditors of the state to the landholders, as the former were in proportion to the latter but as one to six hundred. The regent refused to come into a measure that would have stamped an indelible stain upon his administration. He preferred an inquiry into the public engagements to a total bankruptcy.

NOTWITHSTANDING the reduction of 600,000,000 ‡ of stock to bearer, to 250,000,000 § of govern-

* 350,000*l.* † 1,400,000*l.* ‡ 26,250,000*l.* § 10,937,500*l.*

ment bonds, the national debt amounted to 262,138,001 livres * at twenty-eight livres † the mark, the interest of which, at four per cent. amounted to 89,983,453 livres ‡.

THIS enormous debt, which nearly absorbed the whole of the public revenue, suggested the idea of appointing a bed of justice, to call those to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, and had enriched themselves with the spoils of the nation. This inquiry only served to expose to public view the incapacity of the ministers who had been intrusted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had swallowed them up, and the baseness of the courtiers who had sold their interest to the first bidder. By this experiment, honest minds were confirmed in the abhorrence they always had for such a tribunal. It degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to fulfil his engagements, and exposes to the people the vices of a corrupt administration. It is injurious to the rights of the citizen, who is accountable for his actions to none but the law. It strikes terror into the rich, who are marked out as delinquents, merely because they are rich, be their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encouragement to informers, who point out as fit objects for tyranny such as it may be advantageous to ruin. It is composed of unmerciful leeches, who see guilt wherever they suspect there is money. It spares plunderers, who find means to secrete their wealth in time; and spoils honest

* 90,218,537 L. 11s. † 1 L. 4s. 6d. ‡ 3,936,776 L. 1s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$ mca

men who think themselves secure in their innocence. It sacrifices the interests of the treasury to the whims of a few greedy, profligate, and extravagant favourites.

WHILE France was exhibiting to all Europe the cruel and disgraceful spectacle of these complicated evils, a Scotch empiric arrived at Paris, who for some time had been travelling about, and making a display of his talents, hurried on by his own restless disposition. His fiery genius and peremptory manner were capable of bearing down every argument, and surmounting every difficulty. In 1716 he suggested the idea of a bank, the success of which confounded his opponents, and even exceeded his own expectations. With ninety millions * that the West India company furnished towards this bank, it gave new life to agriculture, to trade, to arts; in short, to the whole nation. The author was extolled as an accurate, extensive, and elevated genius, who despised fortune, aimed only at glory, and wanted to transmit his name to posterity by great actions. Such was the gratitude of the public, that he was thought to deserve the highest honours. This astonishing prosperity gave him an unlimited authority. He made use of it in 1719 to unite the East and West India companies, as likewise those of Africa and China, into one body. Commercial schemes were the least concern of the new society. They carried their ambition so far as to pretend to pay off all the national debt. The government granted them

* 3,937,500*l*.

the sole vending of tobacco, the mint, the receipts, and general farms, to enable them to pursue fo grand a project.

At first, Law's schemes met with universal approbation. Six hundred and twenty-four thousand shares, mostly bought with government bills, and which upon an average did not really cost 500 livres *, rose to 10,000 livres †, payable in bank notes. Such was the infatuation of the public, that not only Frenchmen, but foreigners, and even the most sensible people, sold their stock, their lands, their jewels, to play this extraordinary game. Gold and silver were held in no estimation; and nothing but paper currency was fought after.

This frenzy multiplied paper credit to such an amazing degree, that it circulated to the amount of 6,138,243,590 livres ‡, in shares of India stock, or in bank notes, though there was actually in the kingdom no more than twelve hundred millions § in specie, at sixty livres a mark ¶.

Such disproportion might possibly have been supported in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens, accustomed to consider the nation as a permanent and independent body, trust to its security the more readily, as they are seldom thoroughly acquainted with its powers, and have a good opinion of its equity founded on experience. Upon the strength

* 211. 17s. 6d.
§ 52,500,000l.

† 437l. 10s.
¶ 21. 12s. 6d.

‡ 268,548,157l. 1s. 3d.

of this favourable prejudice, credit is often stretched in those states beyond the real resources and securities of the nation. This is not the case in an absolute monarchy, especially such as have often broken their engagements. If in times of public infatuation an implicit confidence is shewn, the effect ceases with the cause. Their insolvency becomes evident. The honesty of the monarch, the mortgage, the stock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, demands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneasiness. The history of the system will corroborate this truth.

In order to answer the first demands, the government had recourse to very extraordinary expedients. Gold was prohibited in trade; all persons were forbidden to keep by them more than five hundred livres * in specie. An edict was published, declaring several successive diminutions in the value of the coin. This had the desired effect; people were now not so anxious to draw their money from the bank; on the contrary, in less than a month they brought in specie to the amount of forty-four million six hundred ninety-six thousand one hundred and ninety livres † in specie, at eighty livres ‡ a mark.

As this infatuation could not be lasting, it was judged expedient to lessen the disproportion between paper-currency and money, by reducing the bank bills to half their value, and the shares

* 211. 178. 6d. † 1,955,4581. 6s. 3d. ‡ 31. 10s.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

to five-ninths. The standard for the coin was fixed at eighty-two livres ten sols * a mark. This scheme, the most rational, perhaps, that could have been devised in the critical situation of affairs, completed the general confusion. The consternation was universal; every one imagined he had lost half his fortune, and hastened to call in the remainder. The bank had no stock, and the stock-brokers found they had only been grasping at shadows. The foreigners, who had realized their paper at first, and carried off one-third of the ready money of the kingdom, were the least losers. The hopes which the government had conceived of paying off the national debt disappeared with Law; and there remained no lasting monument of the system, but an India company, whose shares were fixed by the liquidation of 1723, to the number of fifty-six thousand, but by subsequent events were reduced to fifty thousand two hundred sixty-eight and four-tenths.

UNFORTUNATELY it preserved the privileges of the several companies out of which it had been formed; and this prerogative added neither to its wisdom or power: it confined the negro-trade, and stopped the progress of the sugar colonies. Most of its privileges served only to authorise odious monopolies. The most fertile regions upon earth, when occupied by the company, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The spirit of finance, which restrains pursuits as much as the commercial spirit enlarges them, became the

* 3l. 12s. 2d. $\frac{1}{4}$.

spirit of the company, and has continued ever since. The directors thought only of turning to their own advantage the rights ceded to the company in Asia, Africa, and America. It became a society of contractors, rather than a trading company. Nothing could possibly be said in praise of their administration, had they not been so honest as to pay off the debts accumulated in India for a century past; and taken care to secure Pondicherry against any invasion, by surrounding it with walls. Their trade was but small and precarious till Orry was appointed to superintend the finances of the nation.

THAT upright and disinterested minister sullied his virtues by a harshness of temper which he apologized for in a manner not much to the credit of the nation. One day that a friend was reproaching him for the roughness of his manners, he answered, *How can I behave otherwise? Out of a hundred people I see in a day, fifty take me for a fool, and fifty for a knave.* He had a brother named Fulvy, who was less rigid in his principles, but had more affability, and greater capacity. He intrusted him with the concerns of the company, which could not but flourish under such a direction.

Great success of the French in India.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former prejudices and those which still prevailed; notwithstanding the abhorrence the public had for any remains of Law's system; notwithstanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the dividend upon the shares came under the denomina-

tion of usury; notwithstanding the blindness of a nation credulous enough not to be shocked at so absurd a decision; yet still the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury, that it was proper to support the India Company in an effectual manner. They even prevailed upon that minister, who was sometimes too parsimonious, to lavish the king's favours upon this establishment. The care of superintending its trade and increasing its powers was afterwards committed to several persons of known abilities.

DUMAS was sent to Pondicherry. He soon obtained leave of the court of Dehli to coin money; which privilege was worth four or five hundred thousand livres * a year. He obtained a cession of the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a considerable share in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thousand Marattas invaded the Decan. They attacked the Nabob of Arcot, who was vanquished and slain. His family and several of his subjects took refuge in Pondicherry. They were received with all the kindness due to allies in distress. Ragogi Bouffola, the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they should be delivered up to him; and further required the payment of 1,200,000 livres † by virtue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly submitted to.

DUMAS made answer, That so long as the Moguls had been masters of that country, they had always treated the French with the respect due to

* About 19,700*l.* on an average.

† 52,500*l.*

one of the most illustrious nations in the world, which took a pride in her turn in protecting her benefactors; that it was contrary to the character of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceless men, to see them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection of his king, who esteemed it his highest honour to be the protector of the distressed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would gladly die in their defence; and that his own life was forfeited, if his sovereign were to know that he had so much as listened to the mention of a tribute. He added, that he was ready to defend the place to the last extremity; and if he was overpowered, he would get on board his ships, and return to Europe: that Rogogi might consider whether he chose to expose his army to utter destruction, when the greatest advantage that could be obtained by it was to take possession of a heap of ruins.

THE Indians had not been accustomed to hear the French talk with so much dignity. This boldness staggered the general of the Marattas; and, after some negotiations skilfully carried on, he determined to keep peace with Pondicherry.

WHILST Dumas was procuring wealth and respect to the company, the government sent la Bourdonnais to the Isle of France.

THE Portuguese, at the time of their first voyages to India, had discovered to the east of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude, three islands, to which they gave the names of Mascarenhas,

carenhas, Cerné, and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no settlement upon either of the islands. The most western of them, which had been call Mascarenhas, served as a refuge about the year 1665 to some Frenchmen, who before were settled at Madagascar. There they found an extent of sixty miles in length, and forty-five in breadth, full of mountains, and but few plains. At first they bred cattle, and afterwards they cultivated European corn, Asiatic and African fruits, and some vegetables fit for that mild climate. The health, plenty, and freedom they enjoyed, induced several sailors belonging to the ships that touched there for refreshments, to come and live amongst them. Industry brought on population. In 1718, they procured some coffee-trees from Arabia, which succeeded tolerably well, though the fruit had lost much of its flavour. This culture and other laborious employments were performed by slaves from the coast of Africa, or from Madagascar. Then the island, which had changed its name from Mascarenhas to the isle of Bourbon, became an important object to the company. In 1763, the population amounted to 4627 white people, and 15149 blacks; the cattle consisted of 8702 beeves, 4084 sheep, 7405 goats, 7619 hogs. Upon an extent of 125,909 acres of cultivated land, they gathered as much cassava as would feed their slaves, 1135000 pounds weight of corn, 844100 pounds of rice, 2879100 pound of maize, and
2535100

2535100 pounds of coffee, which the company bought up at six sols * a pound.

BOOK
IV.

UNFORTUNATELY this valuable possession has no harbour. This inconvenience determined the French to attempt a settlement on the island of Cerné, where the Portuguese had, as usual, left some quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of such of their ships as should chance to touch there. The Dutch, who afterwards took possession of it, forsook it from an apprehension of multiplying their settlements too much. The island was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed its name from Mauritius to the Isle of France, which it still bears.

THE first people that were sent thither, came over from Bourbon, and there they were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed as it were a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the island had a master. The company, long undetermined, decided at last for the keeping it, and in 1735 la Bourdonnais was commissioned to improve it.

THIS man, who has since been so famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at sea from the age of ten years; all his voyages had been prosperous, and in every one he had signalized himself by some extraordinary action. He had reconciled the Arabs and the Portuguese, who were preparing to massacre one another in the road of Mocha: and had distinguished himself in the war at Mahé. He was the first Frenchman who

* About 3d.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ever thought of sending armed vessels into the Indian seas. He was known to be equally skilful in the art of ship-building, as in that of navigating and defending a ship. His schemes bore the mark of genius, nor were his views contracted by the close attention he paid to all the minute particulars of whatever scheme he undertook. Difficulties did but quicken his activity, and display his talent for disposing the men under his command to the best advantage. Nothing was ever laid to his charge but an immoderate passion for riches; and it must be confessed he was not over-scrupulous as to the means of acquiring them.

He was no sooner arrived at the Isle of France, than he made it his business to acquire every information he could concerning it. He found it to be 31890 toises in its greatest diameter, 22124 in its greatest breadth, and 432680 acres in surface. The greatest part of this ground was covered with forests almost impenetrable, and with mountains not exceeding 400 toises in height. Most of them were full of reservoirs of water, which poured down in streams upon a dark grey earth, full of perforations, and for the most part stony.

THE sea coast was what la Bourdonnais chiefly attended to; and his principal observations related to the two harbours he found there. He thought the harbour on the south-east side of little consequence, on account of the regular and high winds, which make it impossible, or at least very difficult, to sail out of it at any season of the year. That on the north-west he found far preferable, though the

ships must get to it through a narrow channel, between two flats, and then be towed in, and though it will scarcely admit above thirty-five or forty ships.

As soon as la Bourdonnais had procured these necessary informations, he endeavoured to instil a spirit of emulation into the first colonists on the island, who were entirely discouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and attempted to reduce to some subordination the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice and wheat, for the good of the Europeans, and cassava, which he had brought from Brazil, for the slaves. They were to be furnished from Madagascar with meat for the daily consumption of the richer inhabitants and of sea-faring men, till the cattle they had procured from thence should multiply so considerably, as to prevent the necessity of importing any more. A post which he had established on the little island of Rodrigue, abundantly supplied the poor with turtle. Here ships going to India soon found all the refreshments and conveniencies they wanted after a tedious passage. Three ships were fitted out, one of which carried 500 tons burden. If the founder had not the satisfaction of bringing the colony to the utmost degree of prosperity it was capable of, at least he had the credit of having discovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

THESE improvements, however, though they seemed to be owing to enchantment, did not meet with the approbation of those who were principally concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled

compelled to justify himself. One of the directors was asking him one day how it happened that he had conducted the affairs of the company so ill, while he had taken so much care of his own. *Because,* said he, *I have managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the company according to your directions.*

GREAT men have been always more useful to the public, than large collective bodies. Nations and societies are but the instruments of men of genius; these have been the true founders of states and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, owe their foreign conquests and settlements to able warriors, experienced seamen, and legislators of superior talents. France especially is more indebted to some fortunate individuals for the glory she has acquired, than to the form of her government. One of these superior men had just established the power of France over two important islands in Africa; another still more extraordinary, whose name was Dupleix, added splendour to the French name in Asia.

HE was first sent to the banks of the Ganges, where he superintended the colony of Chandernagore. That settlement, though formed in a part of the globe the best adapted for great commercial undertakings, had been but in a languid state, till he took the management of it. The company was not able to send any great stock; and the agents, who went over there without any of their own, had not been able to avail themselves of the liberty that was allowed them of advancing their
OWN

own private affairs. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune, the reward of ten years successful labours, soon spread throughout the colony. In a country abounding with money they soon found credit, when once they shewed themselves deserving of it. In a short time, Chandernagore excited the admiration of its neighbours, and the envy of its rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the rest of the French in his vast speculations, opened fresh sources of commerce all over the Mogul's Dominions, and as far as Thibet. On his arrival he had not found a single sloop, and he fitted out fifteen armed vessels at once. These ships carried on trade in different places in India. Some he sent to the Red Sea, to the Gulph of Persia, to Surat, to Goa, to the Maldives, and Manilla Islands, and to all the seas where there was a possibility of trading to advantage.

DUPLEIX had for twelve years supported the honour of the French name on the Ganges, and increased the revenues of the public as well as the private fortunes of individuals, when he was called to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general superintendency of all the company's affairs in India. They were then in a more flourishing condition than they had ever yet been, or have ever been since; for that year the returns amounted to twenty-four millions *. Had they continued to act prudently, had they confided more in two such men as Dupleix and la Bourdonnais, they would

* 1,050,000*l*.

probably

probably have acquired such power as would not have been easily destroyed.

LA BOURDONNAIS saw an approaching rupture with England; and proposed a scheme which would have secured to the French the sovereignty of the seas in Asia, during the whole course of the war. He was convinced, that whichever nation should first take up arms in India, would have a manifest advantage over the other. He therefore desired to have a squadron, with which he should sail to the Isle of France, and there wait till hostilities began. From this place he was to go and cruize in the straits of Sunda, where most of the ships pass that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the English ships, and saved those of the French. He would have even taken the small squadron which England sent into those very latitudes; and, having thus made himself master of the Indian seas, would have ruined all the English settlements in those parts.

THE ministry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he set sail.

HE had scarcely set sail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark as to the destination of the squadron, and at the expences it had occasioned them, and jealous of the advantage this would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed against this armament as they had done before, and declared it to be useless. They were, or pretended to be, so fully convinced of the neutrality that would be observed in India be-

tween the two companies, that they persuaded the minister into that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer present to animate him, and guide his inexperience.

THE court of Versailles was not aware that a power, supported chiefly by trade, would not easily be induced to leave them in quiet possession of the Indian ocean; and that, if she either made or listened to any proposals of neutrality, it must be only to gain time. It was not aware that, even supposing such an agreement was made *bona fide* on both sides, a thousand unforeseen events might interrupt it. It was not aware, that the object proposed could never be fully answered, because the sea-forces of both nations, not being bound by any private agreement made between two companies, would attack their ships in the European seas. It was not aware, that in the colonies themselves they would make preparations to guard against a surprise; that these precautions would create a mistrust on both sides; and that mistrust would bring on an open rupture. All these particulars were not perceived by the court, and the squadron was recalled. Hostilities began; and the loss of almost every French ship going to India, shewed too late which of the two was the most judicious system of politics.

LA BOURDONNAIS was as deeply affected for the errors that had occasioned the misfortunes of the nation, as if he had been guilty of them himself, and applied wholly to remedy them. Without magazines, without provisions, without

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

money, he found means by his attention and perseverance to form a squadron, composed of a sixty-gun ship, and five merchantmen, which he turned into men of war. He ventured to attack the English squadron; he beat them, pursued and forced them to quit the coast of Coromandel; he then besieged and took Madras, the first of the English settlements. The victor was preparing for fresh expeditions, which were certain and easy; but he met with the most violent opposition, which not only occasioned the loss of the sum of 9,057,000 livres * he had stipulated for as the ransom of the city, but also deprived him of the success which must necessarily have followed his undertakings.

THE company was then governed by two of the king's commissaries, who were irreconcilable enemies to each other. The directors and the inferior officers had taken part in the quarrel, according as their inclination or their interest led them. The two factions were extremely incensed against each other. That which had caused la Bourdonnais's squadron to be taken from him, was enraged to see that he had found resources in himself, to ward off every blow that was aimed at him. There is good reason to believe, that this faction pursued him to India, and instilled the poison of jealousy into the heart of Dupleix. Two men formed to esteem and love each other, to adorn the French name, and to descend together to posterity, became the vile tools of an animosity

in which they were not the least interested. Dupleix opposed la Bourdonnais, and made him lose much time. The latter, after having staid too long on the coast of Coromandel, waiting for the succours which had been unnecessarily delayed; saw his squadron destroyed by a storm. The crews were disposed to mutiny. So many misfortunes, brought-on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined la Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid dungeon was the reward of all his glorious services, and the end of all the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents. The English, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and considerably reinforced, found themselves in a condition to attack the French in their turn, and accordingly laid siege to Pondicherry.

DUPLEIX then made amends for past errors. He defended the town with great skill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened six weeks, the English were forced to raise the siege. The news of the peace arrived soon after, and all hostilities ceased between the companies of both nations.

THE taking of Madrafs, la Bourdonnais's engagement at sea, and the raising of the siege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French; and they were respected in those parts as the first and greatest of the European powers.

DUPLEIX endeavoured to avail himself of this disposition, and took care to procure lasting and important advantages for his nation. In order to judge rightly of his projects, we must lay before

View of
the French
to aggran-
dize them-
selves.

Account
of Indos-
tan.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

the reader a description of the state of Indostan at that time.

If we may credit uncertain tradition, that fine rich country tempted the first conquerors of the world. But whether Bacchus, Hercules, Sesostris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhaustible fund of fictions and wonders to the antient Greeks. That people, ever credulous, because they were carried away by their imagination, were so enchanted with these marvellous stories, that they still gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

If we consider this matter according to the principles of reason and truth, we shall find that a pure air, wholesome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indostan. They were acquainted with laws, civil government and arts; whilst the rest of the earth was desert and savage. Wise and beneficial institutions preserved these people from corruption, and their only care was to enjoy the gifts of the earth and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in some of these states, the empire was immediately subverted; and when Alexander entered these regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities.

A COUNTRY divided into numberless little states, some of which were popular, and others enslaved, could not make a very formidable resistance against the hero of Macedonia. His progress was rapid, and he would have subdued the whole country,

had not death overtaken him in the midst of his triumphs.

BOOK
IV.

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sandrocottus had learned the art of war. This obscure man, who had nothing to recommend him but his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. The deliverer of his country then made himself master of it, and united all Indostan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not known.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world. They subjected some few islands to their dominion; but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few settlements on it.

THREE centuries after this, some barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khoreffan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north side, and extended their depredations as far as Gazarat. They carried off immense spoils from those wealthy provinces, and buried them under ground in their wretched and barren deserts.

THESE calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gengis-Khan, who with his Tartars had subdued the greatest part of Asia, brought his victorious army to the western borders of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not known what part this conqueror and his descendents took in the affairs of Indostan. Probably, they did not concern themselves much about them; for it appears,

that soon after the Patans reigned over this fine country.

THESE are said to have been Arabian merchants settled on the coasts of Indostan, who, taking advantage of the weakness of the several kings and nations who had admitted them, easily seized upon many provinces, and founded a vast empire, of which Delhi was the capital. Under their dominion India was happy, because men educated to trade were not influenced by that spirit of devastation and rapine which commonly attends invaders.

THE Indians had scarce had time to accustom themselves to a foreign yoke, when they were once more forced to change masters. Tamerlane, who came from Great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruelties and his victories, advanced to the north side of Indostan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a well-disciplined and triumphant army, inured to all the hardships of war. He secured the northern provinces himself, and abandoned the plunder of the southern ones to his lieutenants. He seemed determined to subdue all India, when on a sudden he turned his arms against Bajazet, overcame and dethroned that prince, and by the union of all his conquests found himself master of the immense space that extends from the delicious coast of Smyrna to the delightful borders of the Ganges. After his death, violent contests arose, and his posterity were deprived of his rich spoils. Babar, the sixth descendent of one of his children, alone survived to preserve his name,

THAT

THAT young prince, brought up in sloth and luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his ancestor had ended his days. The Uibeck Tartars dethroned him, and constrained him to take refuge in the Cabulistan. Ranguildas, the governor of that province, received him kindly, and supplied him with troops,

THIS wise man addressed him in the following manner : " It is not towards the north, where vengeance would naturally call thee, that thy steps must be directed. Soldiers, enervated by the pleasures of India, could not without rashness attack warriors famous for their courage and their victories. Heaven has conducted thee to the banks of the Indus, in order to fix upon thy brow one of the richest diadems in the universe. Turn thy views towards Indostan. That empire, torn in pieces by the incessant wars of the Indians and Patans, calls for a master. It is in those delightful regions that thou must establish a new monarchy, and raise thy glory equal to that of the formidable Tamerlane."

THIS judicious advice made a strong impression on the mind of Babar. A plan of usurpation was immediately traced out, and pursued with activity and skill. Success attended the execution. The northern provinces, not excepting Delhi, submitted after some resistance; and thus a fugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which subsists to this day.

THE preservation of this conquest required a form of government. That which Babar found

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

established in India, was a kind of despotism, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by customs, forms, and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildness which these nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more powerful influence of religious tenets. To this peaceable constitution Babar substituted a severe and military despotism, such as might be expected from a victorious and barbarous nation.

RANGUILDAS was long witness to the power of the new sovereign, and exulted in the success of his own councils. The recollection of the steps he had taken to place his master's son upon the throne, filled him with a conscious and real satisfaction.

One day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who stood by him, cry out, "O God! thou seest the sufferings of my brethren. We are a prey to a young man who considers us as his property, which he may squander and consume as he pleases. Among the many children who call upon thee from these vast regions, one oppresses all the rest: avenge us of the tyrant; avenge us of the traitors who have placed him on the throne without examining whether he was a just man."

RANGUILDAS, astonished, drew near to the Banian, and said, "O thou, who cursest my old age, hear me. If I am guilty, my conscience has misled me. When I restored the inheritance to the son of my sovereign, when I exposed my life and fortune to establish his authority, God is my witness, that I thought I was acting in conformity

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK
IV.

"for pity to his wife decesses; and, at the very instant when I heard thy prayer, I was still thanking heaven for granting me, in my latter days, those two greatest of blessings, rest and glory."

"GLORY! cries the Banian. Learn, Ranguildas, that glory belongs only to virtue, and not to actions which are only splendid, without being useful to mankind. Alas! what advantages did you procure to Iadostan when you crowned the son of an usurper? had you previously considered whether he was capable of doing good, and whether he would have the will and resolution to be just? You say, you have restored to him the inheritance of his fathers, as if men could be bequeathed and possessed like lands and cattle. Pretend not so glory, O Ranguildas! or, if you look for gratitude, go and seek it in the heart of Babar; he owes it you. You have purchased it at a great price, the happiness of a whole nation."

BABAR, however, whilst he was bringing his subjects under the yoke of despotism, took care to confine it within certain bounds, and to draw up his institutes with so much force, that his successors, though absolute, could not possibly be unjust. The prince was to be the judge of the people, and the arbiter of the state; but his tribunal and his council were to be held in the public square. Injustice and tyranny love darkness, in order so conceal themselves from their intended victim: but when the monarch's actions are to be submitted to the inspection of his subjects, it is a sign he intends nothing but their good. Openly

to

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

to insult a number of men assembled, is such an outrage as even a tyrant would blush at.

THE principal support of his authority was a body of four thousand men, who stiled themselves the first slaves of the prince. Out of this body were chosen the Omrahs, those persons who composed the emperor's councils, and on whom he bestowed lands, distinguished by great privileges. This sort of possessions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that despotism enriches its slaves only to plunder them.

GREAT interest, however, was made for the post of Omrah. Whoever aspired to the government of a province, made this the object of his ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overseers placed about them, who were not under their controul, and who were commissioned to inspect the use they made of the military force they were intrusted with, to keep the conquered Indians in awe. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable only to the Court. That suspicious court often sent for the governor, and either continued him or removed him, as it happened to suit her fluctuating policy. These changes were grown so common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, *waiting, as he said, to see his successor come out.*

The form of government, however, was not the same throughout the empire. The Moguls had left several Indian princes in possession of their sovereignties, and even with a power of transmitting them to their descendents. They governed according to the laws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions stipulated with their ancestors at the time of the conquest.

THE conquering nation could not have committed any considerable ravages, since it does not yet constitute more than a tenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. None but Indians are farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at court, in great cities, in camps and armies.

It appears, that at that period when the Moguls entered Indostan, they found no private property. All the lands belonged to the Indian princes; and it may easily be imagined that savage conquerors, sunk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuse, which is the utmost stretch of arbitrary power. That portion of the lands of the empire which the new sovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called subahships. The subahs, who were intrusted with the civil and military government, were also appointed to receive the revenues. This they committed

mitted to the care of the nabobs, whom they established throughout their subahships; and these again trusted this business to private farmers, whose immediate business it was to cultivate the lands.

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of their farm. A kind of deed was drawn up, called jamabandi, which was deposited in the chancery of the province; after which, the farmers went, each in his own district, to look for husbandmen, and advanced them considerable sums to enable them to sow the ground. After harvest, the farmers remitted the produce of their grounds to the nabob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the subah, and the subah paid it into the emperor's treasury. The agreements were commonly for half the produce of the land; the other half went to pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers, and to subsist those whom they employed in tilling the land. In this system were comprised not only corn, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, salt, tobacco, were all farmed in the same manner.

THERE were also some custom-houses, and some duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon industry. These arbitrary rulers had not thought of requiring any thing from men who had nothing left them. The weaver, sitting at his loom, worked without solicitude, and freely disposed of the fruit of his labour.

THIS liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private persons, who were not accountable to any person for

for them. They could dispose of them in their life-time; and, after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houses of artificers, the town-houses with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewise accounted private property. They were hereditary, and might be sold.

In the latter case, the buyer and seller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were drawn up in writing; and the Cothoal affixed his seal to the deed, to make it valid.

THE same formality was observed with regard to the purchase of slaves; that is, of those unfortunate men, who, under the pressure of poverty, chose rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a subsistence, than to live under that general slavery in which they had no means of procuring the necessities of life. They then sold themselves for a sum of money; and this was transacted in presence of the Cothoal, that the master's property might not be contested.

THE Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every district of a certain size. It was before him that the few deeds were transacted, which the nature of such a government would admit of. Another officer, called Jemidar, decided all differences that arose between man and man; and his decisions were almost always definitive, unless the cause was a very important one, or unless the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reversed at the nabob's court. The Jemidar was likewise intrusted with the police. He had a power of inflicting slight punishments; but all capital offences

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

fences were reserved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce a sentence of death.

SUCH a government, which was no better than a despotism gradually descending from the throne down to the meanest officer, could have no other spring than a coercive power constantly exerted. Accordingly, as soon as the rainy season was over, the monarch quitted his capital, and resided in his camp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers, were summoned to attend him; and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces successively, in military parade, which, however, did not preclude political artifice. One great man was often employed to oppress another. The most odious refinement of despotism is that of dividing its slaves. These divisions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continually spreading alarm and terror. These informers were always chosen among persons of the first rank. Corruption is then at its height, when power can confer nobility on what is mean.

EVERY year, the great Mogul set out on his progress, more as a conqueror, than as a sovereign. He went to administer justice in the provinces, as if he was going to plunder them; and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a continual state-war. This manner of governing, though with legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs merely through the channel of those who are invested with his authority, they only murmur, upon the supposition that the
sovereign

sovereign is ignorant of them, and would not suffer any injustice if he knew it: but when the sovereign gives it a sanction by his presence and by his own decisions, then all confidence is at an end; the deception vanishes: he ~~was~~ a God; now he is an idiot, or a wicked man.

THE Mogul emperors, however, have long enjoyed the superstitious idea the nation had conceived of their sacred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than justice, because men are more struck with what dazzles their eyes, than with what is beneficial to them; the richness and splendour of the prince's court; the grandeur that surrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people those prejudices of servile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raised. The various accounts that have been transmitted to us of the luxury of the most brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the ostentatious pomp of the Great Mogul: when he appears in public. The elephants, formerly so dreadful in war, but which are become useless in an army since the introduction of gunpowder; these immense animals that are unknown in our climates, give an Asiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall prostrate before their majestic sovereign, who sits exalted upon a throne of gold, glittering with precious stones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds slowly, proud to present the master of a great empire to the respect of so many slaves. Thus, by dazzling the eyes of men, or inspiring them
with

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

with terror, the Moguls professed and even enlarged their conquests. Aurangzebe completed them, by making himself master of the whole peninsula. All Indostan, excepting a small portion of it along the coast of Malabar, submitted to that superstitious and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his brothers, and his nephews.

This infamous despot made the Mogul power an object of detestation, but he supported it as long as he lived. At his death it was irrecoverably reduced. The uncertainty as to the right of succession was the first cause of the disturbances that arose after his demise, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowledged; that which enacted, that the sceptre should never go out of the family of Tamerlane; but every emperor was at liberty to abuse his successor, without being obliged to regard the degree of consanguinity. This indefinite right proved a source of discord. Young princes, whose birth entitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, supported their claim sword-in-hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Aurangzebe. His rich spoils were stained with blood. In these convulsions of the state, the springs that restrained an army of twelve hundred thousand men were relaxed. Every nabob aimed at being independent, increasing the contributions raised upon the people, and lessening the tributes sent

sent into the emperor's treasury. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice, or thrown into confusion by violent measures.

BOOK
IV.

THE education of the young princes promised no remedy for all these evils. Left to the care of women till the age of seven years, tutored afterwards in some religious principles, they went and spent in the soft indulgences of a seraglio those years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and instructing him in the knowledge of life. Care was taken to enervate them, that they might not become dangerous. Conspiracies of children against their fathers were frequent; to prevent these, therefore, the children were deprived of every virtue, lest they should be capable of a crime. Hence that shocking thought of an oriental poet, that *fathers, whilst their sons are living, are fondest of their grandsons, because they love in them the enemies of their enemies.*

THE Moguls retained nothing of those hardy manners they had brought from their mountains. Those among them who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, changed their habitations according to the seasons. In these retirements, which were some of them more delightful than others, they lived in houses built only of clay or earth, but the inside of which presented every Asiatic luxury, together with all the pomp of the most corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raise a lasting fortune, nor transmit it to

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

their posterity, they are desirous of crowding all their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. Every pleasure, and even life itself, is exhausted in the midst of perfumes and women.

THE Mogul empire was in this state of weakness when it was attacked, in 1738, by the famous Thamas Kouli-Kan. The innumerable armies of India were dispersed without resistance by a hundred thousand Persians; as those very Persians had formerly fled before thirty thousand Greeks trained by Alexander. Thamas entered victorious into Delhi, received the homage of the weak Mahomed; and finding the monarch still more stupid than his subjects, he suffered him to live and to reign, united to Persia all the provinces that suited him, and returned loaded with an immense booty, the spoils of Indostan.

MAHOMED, despised by his conqueror, was still more so by his subjects. The great men would not serve under a vassal of the king of Persia. The nabobships became independent, paying only a small tribute. In vain did the emperor declare that the nabobs should still be removeable; each of them strove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the sword decided every quarrel. The subjects were constantly at war with their master, and were not considered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pretended to a sovereignty. The only formality observed, was to counterfeit the emperor's sign manual in a *firman*; or warrant of investiture. It was brought to the usurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was necessary to impose upon the
the

the people, who had still respect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to choose that all authority should, at least, appear to proceed from it.

Thus did discord, ambition, and anarchy, oppress this fine region of Indostan. Crimes could the more easily be concealed, as it was the custom of the great never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obscure agents, whom they disowned when they found it necessary. Assassination and poisoning became common crimes, which were buried in the dark recesses of those impenetrable palaces, full of attendants, ever ready to perpetrate the blackest acts on the least signal from their master.

THE foreign troops that were called in by the contending parties, completed the miseries of this unhappy country. They carried off all the riches of the land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground; so that the treasures amassed for so many ages gradually disappeared. A general dejection ensued. The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures stood still. The people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domestic oppressors. Want and famine were soon felt. These calamities, which for ten years had infested the provinces of the empire, began to visit the coast of Coromandel. The wise Nizamul Muluck, subah of the Decan, was now no more. His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in a flourishing state. The European merchants were apprehensive that their trade might fail when it had lost that support. They saw no

resource against that danger, but to have a territory of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufactures sufficient to make up their lading.

DUPLEIX was the first who considered this as a practicable scheme. The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped by rapid conquests to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by a steady conduct, and mature deliberation.

HE had long studied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, their political interests. He had acquired such knowledge of these matters, as might have been surprizing even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi. These informations deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the affairs of Indostan; possibly, to manage them as he pleased. His spirit, which prompted him to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional strength to his reflections. Nothing terrified him in the great part he proposed to act at the distance of six thousand leagues from his native country. In vain did his friends represent to him the dangers attending such an undertaking; he considered nothing but the glorious advantage of securing to France a new dominion in the heart of Asia; to enable her, by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of sovereignty; and even to free her from the tribute which our luxury pays to the industry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes,

cargoes, which should not be bought with any exports of money, but from the overflowings of the new revenues. Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly seized the first opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and soon took upon him to dispose of the subahship of the Decan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic, in favour of two men who were ready to give up any thing he should require.

THE subahship of the Decan is a vice-royalty, made up of several provinces which were formerly so many independent states. It extends from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. The subah has the superintendence of all the Indian princes and all the Mogul governors within his jurisdiction; and in his hands are deposited the contributions that are destined to fill the public treasure. He can compel his inferior officers to attend him in all military expeditions he may think proper to make into the countries under his dominion; but he is not allowed to march them into a foreign territory, without an express order from the emperor.

THE subahship of the Decan becoming vacant in 1748, Dupleix, after a series of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, the weakness of the Indians, and the boldness of the French, were equally conspicuous, disposed of it, towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabat-jing, a son of the late viceroy.

THIS success secured great advantages to the French settlements along the coast of Coromandel; but Pondicherry was a place of such impor-

tance, that it was thought to deserve a particular attention. This town, which is situated on the Carnatic, has such constant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich district, that it was thought adviseable to procure the government of the province for a man whose affection and submission might be depended upon. The choice fell upon Chunda-saeb, a relation of the late nabob, well-known for his intrigues, his misfortunes, his warlike exploits, and his steadiness of temper.

IN return for their services; the French made him give up an immense territory. The principal of their acquisitions was the island of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile island derives its name and its consequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as most great buildings that are devoted to public worship. The temple is surrounded with seven square inclosures, at the distance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by pretty high walls, which are proportionably thick. The altar stands in the center. A single monument of this kind, with its fortifications and the mysteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion, than a multiplicity of temples and priests dispersed in different towns, with their sacrifices, ceremonies, prayers, and discourses, which, by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed in public, are apt to tire the people: they are also exposed to the contempt of enlightened reason, to dangerous profanations, or to the slight
and

and neglect of the people ; a circumstance which the priests dread more than sacrilege itself. The priests of India, as wise as those of Egypt, suffer no stranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidst the fables in which the history of this temple is involved, probably some acute philosopher might, if he was admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and construction of the edifice, and the superstitious practices and traditions peculiar to that sacred inclosure, many sources of instruction, and an insight into the history of the most remote ages. Pilgrims resort thither from all parts of Indostan, to obtain absolution of their sins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumstances. These gifts were still so considerable at the beginning of the present century, as to maintain forty thousand men in a life of sloth and idleness. The Bramins of this temple, though under the restraints of subordination, were seldom known to quit their retirement for the more busy scenes of intrigue and politics.

INDEPENDENT of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquisition of Seringham, the situation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and an absolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time stop the waters that were wanted for the culture of their rice.

THE territories of Karical and Pondicherry got an accession of ten leagues each, with fourscore villages. If these acquisitions were not so considerable

as that of Seringham in point of political influence, they were much more so with regard to trade.

BUT this was a trifling acquisition compared to the territory that was gained to the north, which comprehended the Condavir, Masulipatam, the island of Divi, and the four provinces of Mustafanagur, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important concessions made the French masters of the coast for the space of six hundred miles, and procured them the best linen in Indostan. It is true, they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they should furnish the subah with a stipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which was only binding to their honesty, gave them little concern. Their ambition made them already think themselves in possession of those treasures that had been heaped up in those vast regions for so many ages.

THE ambitious views of the French, and their projects of conquest, were still more visionary. They purposed to obtain a cession of the capital of the Portuguese colonies, and to seize upon the district of a triangular form, which lies between Masulipatam, Goa, and Cape Comorin.

IN the mean time, till they could realize these brilliant chimeras, they considered the personal honours that were lavished upon Dupleix as a presage of the greatest prosperity. It is well known, that every foreign colony is in some degree odious to the natives; it is therefore good policy to endeavour to lessen this aversion, and the

the surest way to attain that end is, to conform as much as possible to the customs and manners of the country. This maxim, which is in general true, is more particularly so in countries where the people think but little, and is consequently so in India.

THE inclination which the French commander had for Asiatic pomp, was still a further inducement with to him to conform to the customs of the country. He was exceedingly rejoiced when he saw himself invested with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with those whose protection he solicited before, and afforded him considerable opportunities to pave the way for those great revolutions he meditated, in order to promote the important interests he was intrusted with. He entertained still greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul possessions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of those rich provinces were to be deposited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the subah himself.

THOUGH these agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleasing to the court of Delhi, they were not much afraid of its resentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the subahs, the nabobs, the rajas, his meanest delegates, took upon themselves to refuse him, found himself attacked on all sides.

THE Rajaputes, descended from those Indians with whom Alexander had been engaged in battle, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls, took

took shelter in some mountains that are almost inaccessible. Continual disturbances put it out of their power to think of conquests; but in the intervals of their dissensions, they make inroads that cannot fail of harraffing an empire already exhausted.

THE Patans are more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from most of the thrones of Indostan, they have taken refuge at the foot of mount Imaüs, which is a continuation of the Caucasus. That situation has strangely altered their manners, and given them a fierceness of temper which they had not in a milder climate. War is their chief employment. They serve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes; but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to punish them; for they are so vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are strong enough to attempt any bold enterprize. Since the reigning power has lost its strength, the nation has shaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and did not quit that capital till they had plundered it.

To the north of Indostan is a nation, which, though lately known, is the more formidable for being a new enemy. This people, distinguished by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free themselves from the chains of despotism and superstition, though surrounded by nations of slaves. They are said to be followers of a philosopher of
Thiber,

Thibet, who inspired them with some notions of liberty, and taught them Theism without any mixture of superstition. They first appeared in the beginning of the present century; but were then considered rather as a sect than as a nation. During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increased considerably by apostates of all religions, who joined with them, and sought shelter among them from the oppressions and fury of their tyrants. To be admitted of that society, nothing more is required than to swear implacable hatred against monarchy. It is asserted, that they have a temple with an altar, on which stands their code of laws, and next to it a scepter and a dagger. Four old men are elected, who occasionally consult the law, which is the only supreme power this republic obeys. The Scheiks actually possess the whole province of Punjal, the greatest part of the Moultan and the Sindi, both banks of the Indus from Cassimere to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi from Lahot to Serhend: they can raise an army of sixty thousand good cavalry.

BUT of all the enemies of the Moguls, none are, perhaps, so dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late so famous, so far as the obscurity of their origin and history will allow us to conjecture, possessed several provinces of Indostan, from whence they were driven by the fear or the arms of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed several tribes, which in process of time united into one state, of which Satarah was the capital.

Most

Most of them carried vice and licentiousness to all the excesses which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have cast off the yoke of prejudices, without substituting wholesome laws and sound learning in their stead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and the robbing of some caravans; till the coast of Coromandel, being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them sensible of their strength, by imploring their assistance.

At this period they were seen coming out of their rocks, mounted on small and ill-shaped horses, but stout and accustomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads, and to excessive fatigue. The whole accoutrement of a Maratta horseman consisted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His provisions were a little bag of rice, and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an excellent sabre.

NOTWITHSTANDING the assistance of these barbarians, the Indian princes were forced to bend to the yoke of Aurengzebe; but the conqueror, weary of contending with irregular troops, which were continually ravaging the newly-reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that would have been dishonourable, had it not been dictated by necessity, which is stronger than prejudices, oaths, and laws. He ceded for ever to the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of the Decan, a subahship formed out of all his usurpations in the peninsula.

THIS

THIS kind of tribute was regularly paid as long as Aurengzebe lived. After his death, it was granted or refused according to circumstances. The levying of it brought the Marattas in arms to the remotest parts of their mountains. Their boldness increased during the anarchy of Indostan. They have made the empire tremble; they have deposed monarchs; they have extended their frontiers; they have granted their protection to rajas and nabobs who strove to be independent, and their influence has been unbounded.

WHILST the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with so many enemies, all conspiring to effect its ruin, M. de Bussy, who with a small corps of French troops and an army of Indians had conducted Salabat-jing to Aurengabad his capital, endeavoured to establish him on the throne where he had placed him. The weakness of the prince, the conspiracies which it occasioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments, obstructed but could not subvert his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, considering the circumstances of this situation; and he preserved him absolutely independent of the head of the empire.

CHUNDA-SAEB, appointed nabob of the Carnatic, was not in so happy a situation. The English, ever in opposition to the French, had stirred up a rival against him named Mohammed-Ali-Kan. The names of those two princes served as a pre-
tence

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

tence for carrying on a vigorous war between the two nations: they fought for glory, for wealth, and to serve the passions of their respective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders. Victory declared alternately for each army. Success would not have been so fluctuating, had the governor of Madras had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of those two men, who were both of the same inflexible temper, would in the end obtain the superiority; but it was very certain that neither would submit, whilst he had either troops or money left. Nor was it likely that either of them would soon be reduced to this extremity, notwithstanding their amazing efforts, because they both found such resources in their hatred and their genius, as even the most able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the disturbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unless the peace was first settled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for six years might spread further. The ministers of France and England obviated this danger, by enjoining the two companies to fix certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty, which began by suspending all hostilities at the commencement of the year 1755, and was to end by establishing between them a perfect equality of territory, of strength, and of trade, on the coasts of Coromandel and Orixá. This stipulation had not yet received the sanction of the courts of

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

III

London and Versailles, when greater interests kindled a fresh war between the two nations.

BOOK IV.

THE report of this great contest, which began in North America, and spread itself throughout the universe, reached the East-Indies at a time when the English were engaged in a very intricate war with the subah of Bengal. Had the French been then in the same state they were some years before, they would have joined with the natives. From narrow views and ill-judged interests, they were desirous of entering into a formal convention, to secure the neutrality which had subsisted on the banks of the Ganges during the last disturbances. Their rivals amused them with the hopes of settling this convention, so long as they wanted to keep them in a state of inaction. But as soon as their successes had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandernagore. The reduction of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the English in a condition to send men, money, provisions, and ships, to the coast of Coromandel, where the French were just arrived with considerable land and sea-forces.

Wars between the English and French. The French lose all their settlements.

THESE forces, destined to protect the settlements of their own nation and destroy those of the enemy, were more than sufficient to answer both those purposes. The only point was to make a proper use of them; but there was a mistake in this from the beginning, as will plainly appear from the following observations.

BEFORE

BEFORE the commencement of the war, the company possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Orixa, Masulipatam, with five provinces; a large circuit of land about Pondicherry, which for a long time before had been nothing but a sand-bank; and an extent nearly of the same size in the neighbourhood of Karical; and, lastly, the island of Seringham. These possessions made four tracts of country, too far distant to support each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made these acquisitions.

THESE political errors might have been amended. Dupleix, who compensated for his defects by his great qualities, had acquired so great an influence that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the most flourishing province in all the Mogul empire. By singular and fortunate circumstances, it had been governed successively by three nabobs of the same family, who had been equally attentive to agriculture and industry. General felicity had been the result of this mild government and public-spirited conduct, and the public revenues had increased to twelve millions*. A sixth part of this sum would have been given to Salabat-jing, and the rest would have been for the company.

If the ministry and the direction, who alternately supported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and settled resolution, they might have sent orders to their

* 525,000*l*.

agent to give up all the remote conquests, and to be content with that important settlement. It was alone sufficient to give the French a firm establishment, a compact territory in which the settlements would be contiguous, a very large quantity of merchandise, provisions for their fortified towns, and revenues capable of maintaining a body of troops, which would have enabled them to brave the jealousy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies. Unfortunately for them, the court of Versailles ordered that Dupleix should not accept of the Carnatic; and affairs remained as they were before that proposal.

BOOK
IV.

THE situation was critical. Dupleix was, perhaps, the only man who could support himself in it, or in his stead the celebrated officer who had had the greatest share in his confidence, and was best acquainted with his schemes. The contrary opinion prevailed. Dupleix had been recalled. The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he must demolish a structure which ought only to have been supported in those troublesome times, and discovered his designs in so public a manner, as contributed greatly to heighten the imprudence of his resolutions.

THIS man, whose ungovernable temper could never adapt itself to circumstances, had received from nature no qualities that fitted him for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination; so that there was a perpetual contrast between his conversation and his projects, and between his projects and his actions.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Passionate, suspicious, jealous, and positive to excess, he created an universal diffidence and dejection, and excited animosities never to be suppressed. His military operations, his civil government, his political combinations, all bore evident marks of the confusion of his ideas.

THE evacuation of the island of Seringham was the principal cause of the disasters that attended the war with Tanjour. Masulipatam and the northern provinces were lost, from having given up the alliance of Salabatjing. The inferior powers of the Carnatic, who no longer respected the French for the sake of their old friend the subah of the Decan, completed the general ruin by espousing other interests.

ON the other hand, the French squadron, though superior to the English, with which it had engaged three several times without gaining any advantage over it, at last was obliged to leave it master of the seas, by which the fate of India was decided. Pondicherry, after struggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to surrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation drawn up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and, by a contradiction that was characteristic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the English general, in which he told him, *he would have no capitulation, because the English were such people that they would not adhere to it.*

IN taking possession of the place, the conqueror caused not only the troops that had defended it,
but

but all the French in the company's service, to be shipped off for Europe; and, not satisfied even with that revenge, they destroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

Those of the inhabitants who were sent over to France, arrived in despair, at having lost their fortunes, and seen their houses demolished as they quitted the shore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they excited the indignation of the public against their governor; they impeached him as the author of all their miseries, and the sole cause of the loss of a flourishing colony. Lally was taken up, and tried by the parliament. He had been accused of high treason and extortion; of the first he was acquitted, and the second was never proved; yet Lally was condemned to lose his head.

LET us ask, in the name of humanity, what his crime was, that it should be punishable by law? The awful sword of justice was not put into the hands of the magistrate to gratify private resentment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone must point out its own victims; and, if the clamours of a blind and incensed multitude could sway with the judges to pronounce a capital sentence, the innocent might suffer for the guilty, and there would be no safety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the sentence.

It declares, that Lally stands convicted of *having betrayed the interests of the king, of the state, and of the India company*. What is meant by betraying of interests? What law is there that makes it death to

be guilty of this vague and indefinite crime? No such law either does or can exist. The disgrace of the prince, the contempt of the nation, public infamy, these are the proper punishments for the man, who, from incapacity or folly, has not served his country as he ought: but death, and that too upon a scaffold, is destined for crimes of a different nature.

THE sentence further declares, that Lally stands convicted of *vexations, exactions, and abuse of authority*. No doubt he was guilty of these in numberless instances. He made use of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treasure. He injured and oppressed the citizens; but he never attempted any thing against their lives, or against their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but caused no one to be executed upon them.

IN reality, he was a madman of a dark and dangerous cast; an odious and despicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions, nor treason; and, to use the expression of a philosopher whose virtues do honour to humanity, *every one had a right to kill Lally, except the executioner*.

Causes of
the mis-
fortunes
of the
French.

THE misfortunes that befel the French in Asia had been foreseen by all considerate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their morals especially had degenerated in the voluptuous climate of India. The wars which Dupleix had carried-on in the inland parts had laid the foundation of many fortunes. They were increased and multiplied by the gifts which Salabatjing

batjing lavished on those who conducted him in triumph to his capital, and fixed him on the throne. The officers who had not shared the dangers, the glory, and the benefits of those brilliant expeditions, found out an expedient to comfort themselves under their misfortune; which was, to reduce the sipahi's to half the number they were ordered to maintain, and to apply their pay to their own benefit; which they could easily do, as the money passed through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not these resources, accounted to the company but for a very small part of the profits made upon the European goods they sold, though they ought to have been all their own; and sold them those of India at a very high price, which they ought to have had at prime-cost. Those who were intrusted with collecting the revenue of any particular spot, farmed it themselves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handsome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of such estates, under pretence of some imaginary robbery or devastation, which had made it impossible to collect it. All undertakings, of what nature soever, were clandestinely agreed upon; and became the prey of the persons employed in them, who had found means to make themselves formidable, or of such as were most in favour, or richest. The authorized abuse that prevails in India, of giving and receiving presents on the conclusion of every treaty, had multiplied these transactions without necessity. The navigators who landed in those parts, dazzled with the fortunes which they saw in-

creased fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ships, but as the means of carrying on trade, and acquiring wealth. Corruption was brought to its greatest height by people of rank, who had been disgraced and ruined at home; but who, being encouraged by what they saw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, resolved to go themselves into Asia, in hopes of retrieving their shattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The personal conduct of the directors made it necessary for them to connive at all these disorders. They were reproached with attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money, and the power it gave them; with giving the most important posts to their own relations, men of no morals, application, or capacity; with multiplying the number of factors without necessity and without bounds, to secure friends in the city and at court; and, lastly, they were accused of obtruding upon the public commodities which might have been bought cheaper and better in other places. Whether the government did not know of these excesses, or had not resolution enough to put a stop to them, it was, by its blindness or its weakness, in some measure necessary to the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. It might even without injustice be charged with being the principal cause of them, by sending such improper persons to manage and defend an important settlement, which had no less to fear from its own corruption, than from the English fleets and armies.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

119

BOOK
IV.

THE misfortunes of the company abroad were aggravated by their situation at home. It was immediately thought advisable to lay a clear account of affairs before the proprietors. This discovery occasioned a general despondency, which gave rise to a variety of different schemes, all equally absurd. These several schemes were hastily discussed, nor was it possible that any of them could be fixed upon by men in such a state of uncertainty and diffidence. The deliberations were carried on with too much asperity; and time, which was of so much consequence, was lost in upbraidings and invectives. No one could foresee where these commotions would end; when a young merchant of penetration and judgment arose. The proprietors listened to him with attention; all disputes immediately subsided, and fresh hopes began to dawn. They were unanimous in adopting his opinion. The company, which the enemies to all exclusive privileges wished to see abolished, and which so many private interests had conspired to destroy, still maintained its ground: but it was put upon a better footing; a circumstance which was absolutely necessary.

Measures
taken by
the French
to re-esta-
blish affairs
in India.

AMONGST the causes that had occasioned the distresses of the company, there was one which had long been looked upon as the source of all the rest; this was the dependence, or rather the slavery, in which the government had kept that great body for near half a century.

EVER since the year 1723, the directors had been chosen by the court. In 1730, a commissary appointed by the king was introduced into the

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

administration of the company. From this period there was an end to all freedom of debate; there was no longer any connection between those who had the management of affairs and the proprietors; no immediate intercourse between the managers and government. All was directed by the influence and according to the views of the court. Mystery, that dangerous veil of arbitrary administration, concealed all their operations; and it was not till 1744 that the proprietors were called together. They were empowered to name syndics, and to call a general meeting once a year; but they were not better informed of the state of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of chusing the directors was still vested in the crown, and instead of one commissary the king chose to have two.

From this time two parties were formed. Each commissary had his own scheme, his own favourites, and endeavoured to get his own projects adopted. Hence arose divisions, intrigues, informations, and animosities, which originated in Paris, and extended as far as India, and there broke out in a manner so fatal to the nation.

THE ministry, shocked at such a number of abuses, and weary of those endless contests, attempted to remedy them. It was imagined they had succeeded, by appointing a third commissary. This expedient, however, served only to increase the evil. Despotism had prevailed while there was but one; division ensued on the nomination of two; and from the moment three were appointed, all was
anarchy

anarchy and confusion. They were reduced to two, and pains were taken to preserve harmony as much as possible between them; and in 1764 there was but one, when the proprietors desired that the company might be brought back to its original form, by restoring its freedom.

BOOK
IV.

THEY ventured to tell the government, they might impute the disasters and errors of the company to themselves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs; that they could never be carried on most advantageously both for them and for the state, till this could be done with freedom, and till an immediate intercourse was established between the proprietors and administrators, and between the administrators and the ministry; that whenever there was an intermediate person, the orders given on one part, and the reports made on the other, would necessarily, in passing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and inclinations, so that he would always be, in fact, the real and sole manager of the company; that such a manager, not being himself personally concerned in the affairs of the company, or not being a competent judge of them, would always sacrifice the welfare and true interest of trade, to add to the transient pomp of his appointment, and to secure the favour of placemen; that, on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free administration, chosen by the proprietors, acting under their inspection, and in concert with them, and subject to no kind of restraint.

THE

THE government was sensible of the truth of these reasons. It secured the freedom of the company by a solemn edict; and the same merchant, who by his genius had just given it a new existence, drew up a plan of provisionary statutes, for a new form of administration.

THE intention of these statutes was, that the company might no longer be ruled by men who often were not worthy to be its factors; that the government might no further interfere than to protect it; that it might be alike preserved from that slavery under which it had so long groaned, and from that spirit of mystery which had perpetuated its corruption; that there should be a constant intercourse between the managers and the proprietors; that Paris, deprived of the advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a sea-port, might acquire a knowledge of trade in free and peaceable assemblies; that the citizen might form just notions of that powerful tie that connects all nations together, and, by informing himself of the sources of public prosperity, learn to respect the merchant whose operations contributed to it, and to despise the professions that are destructive of it.

THESE wise regulations were attended with happier consequences than could possibly be expected. A great activity was observed on all sides. During the five years that the new administration lasted, the sales produced annually 18,000,000 *. They had not been so considerable, even in those times which

* 787,500*l*.

had been looked upon as the most prosperous; for, from 1726 to 1756 inclusively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres †, which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,912 ‡ livres a year.

It must be confessed, that since the year 1764 the profits had not been what they were before. The difference between the purchase and the sale, which had been at least cent. per cent. was reduced to about seventy per cent. This diminution of profit was owing to the want of stock, to the ruin of the French credit in India, and to the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately subdued those distant regions. The agents for the company were reduced to procure money and goods upon the most exorbitant terms. They obtained both from the English merchants, who were endeavouring to bring over to Europe the immense fortunes they had amassed in Asia.

WITH these impediments, and under these disagreeable circumstances, was the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies exercised, when the government thought proper to suspend it. Let us now examine what was then the situation of the company.

BEFORE 1764, the number of shares amounted to 50,268. At that period the ministry, who, in 1746, 1747, and 1748, had given up to the proprietors the produce of the shares and bonds which were their property, relinquished in their favour the shares and bonds themselves, to the number of

† 19,135,212l. 8s. 6d.

‡ 617,264l. 18s.

11,835

These measures are insufficient. The trade of individuals is substituted to that of the company. State of that society

BOOK
IV.

at the time
of its de-
cay.

11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the last war. These shares having been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

THE wants of the company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres * per share. Upwards of 34,000 shares paid the call. The 4000 that did not were reduced, by the terms of the edict which empowered the company to make it, to five eighths of the value of those which had paid; so that by this operation the number was reduced to 36,920 whole shares and six-eighths.

THE dividends on the shares of the French company, as of all other companies, have varied according to circumstances. In 1722 it was 100 livres †. From 1723 to 1745 it was 150 †. From 1746 to 1749 it was 70 §. From 1750 to 1758 it was 80 ||. From 1759 to 1763 it was 40 ¶; and in 1764 it was but 20 livres **. This shews that the dividend, and the value of the stock, which always kept pace with it, was necessarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion. Hence that prodigious rise and fall in the price of the shares, which fell in one year from two hundred †† to one hundred pistoles ‡‡; then rose to 1800 livres §§, and soon after fell to 700 |||. Yet, in the midst of these revolutions, the stock of the company was much the same. But this is a calculation which the public never makes.

* 17l. 10s.	† 4l. 7s. 6d.	‡ 6l. 11s. 3d.	§ 3l. 1s. 3d.
3l. 10s.	¶ 1l. 1s.	** 17s. 6d.	†† 167l. 18s.
N. B. Each pistole is reckoned at 16s. 9d.			
§§ 78l. 15s.	30l. 12s. 6d.		‡‡ 83l. 15s.

It

It is determined by the circumstance of the present moment, and always trusts or fears beyond the truth. BOOK
IV.

THE proprietors, who were under apprehensions of having their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the risques of such a situation. In laying-in a fresh stock to trade with, they desired to secure the remainder of their fortune in such a manner, as that the shares should at all times bear a settled price, and an interest that could be depended upon. The government settled this matter by an edict issued out in August 1764. The XIIIth article expressly says, That, to secure to the proprietors a settled income independent of all future events of trade, a sufficient fund should be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to secure to every share a capital of 1600 livres *, and an interest of 80 livres †; and that *neither that interest nor that capital should, in any case, or for any cause whatsoever, be answerable for such engagements as the company might enter into after the date of this edict.*

THE company, therefore, owed for 36,920 shares and six eighths, at the rate of 80 livres ‡ per share, an interest amounting to 2,953,660 livres §. They paid for their several contracts 2,727,506 livres ||, which made in all 5,681,166 livres ¶ of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres **. The sum total of all these life annuities and annual payments was then 8,756,065 livres ††. How the company raised

* 70l. † 3l. 10s. ‡ 3l. 10s. § 129,222l. 12s. 6d.

|| 119,328l. 7s. 9d. ¶ 248,551l. 0s. 3d.

** 134,526l. 16s. 7d. ½ †† 383,577l. 16s. 10d. ½.

money

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

money to answer these several demands, shall be the subject of our next inquiry.

THAT great body, which had been much too deeply concerned in Law's scheme, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres *. When that system failed, the government made over to them in payment the exclusive sale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions † a year; but they were left without a capital to trade with. This kept them in a state of inaction till 1726, when the government lent them its assistance. The rapid progress they made astonished all nations, and seemed to promise them a superiority over the most flourishing companies. This opinion, which was the general one, emboldened the proprietors to complain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, as well as the public, that the king's treasury was enriched with their spoils. The profound secrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly strengthened these surmises.

THE breaking-out of the war between France and England in 1744 dissolved the charm. The ministry, too much embarrassed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the company, left it to extricate itself. Then, indeed, every one was surprized to see that Colossus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any shock, and whose greatest misfortune had been the loss of two ships of a moderate value. The company would have been ruined, had not the government in 1747 declared itself their debtor in the sum of

* 3037520L

† 131250L

180,000,000

180,000,000 of livres *, and engaged to pay them the interest of that sum for ever at five per cent. This engagement, which was in lieu of the exclusive sale of tobacco, is so important a point in the history of the company, that it would not be sufficiently illustrated, if we did not trace the matter further back.

THE use of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the discovery of America, made no very rapid progress in France. The consumption was so small, that the first contract, which began the first of December 1674, and ended the first of October 1680, brought in but 500,000 livres † to the government the two first years, and 600,000 ‡ the four last; though the right of stamping powder had been joined to this privilege. This farm of the revenue was confounded with the general farms till 1691, when it still remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres § a year. In 1697, it became once more a separate farm on the same terms, till 1709, when it was increased to 100,000 livres || more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two first years ought to have produced 2,000,000 of livres ¶, and the last 200,000 ** more. At that period it was increased to 4,020,000 livres †† a year; but this lasted only from the first of October 1718 to the first of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued so till the first of September

* 7,875,000*l*. † 21,875*l*. ‡ 26,250*l*. § 65,625*l*.
 ¶ 4375*l*. || 87,500*l*. ** 2,750*l*. †† 175,875*l*.

1721. During this short interval, private people laid in such a stock, that, when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This contract, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the first of September 1721, to the first of October 1730. The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres * for the first thirteen months; 1,800,000 † for the second year; 2,560,000 ‡ for the third; and 3,000,000 § for each of the last six years. This agreement did not take place, because the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres ||, which had been deposited in the royal treasury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be just, and they obtained what they so warmly solicited.

THEY managed this farm themselves, from the first of October 1723, to the last day of September 1730. The produce during that space was 50,083,967 livres 11 sous 9 deniers ¶; which made 7,154,832 livres 10 sols 3 den. ** a year; out of this must be deducted yearly 3,042,963 l. 19 s. 6 d. †† for the charges of preparing the land.

THESE charges were so enormous, that it was thought the business, which grew every day more considerable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would manage it at less ex-

* 56,875 l. † 78,750 l. ‡ 112,000 l. § 131,250 l.
 ¶ 3,937,500 l. ¶ About 2,191,173 l. 11 s. 7 d. $\frac{2}{3}$
 ** About 313,024 l. 16 s. †† About 133,129 l. 12 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$

pence by means of the clerks they employed for other purposes. The company accordingly farmed it for eight years, at the rate of 7,500,000 livres * for each of the first four years, and 8,000,000 † for each of the four last. This contract was continued upon the same terms till the month of June 1747; and the king promised to account with the company for the increase of the produce, as soon as it should be known and ascertained.

At this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the use of the company, an annuity of nine millions ‡ for ever, upon a capital of an hundred and eighty millions §. This large compensation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions ||; for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negroe trade, for the losses they had sustained during the war, for their giving up the exclusive privilege of the trade to St. Domingo, and for the loss of the ton duty, which had been suspended ever since the year 1731. Yet this compensation has been thought inadequate by some of the proprietors, who have discovered, that ever since the year 1758, upwards of 11,700,000 pounds weight of tobacco have been annually sold in the kingdom at three livres ¶ a pound, though it had been bought for twenty-seven livres ** a hundred.

* 328,125 l.

† 350,000 l.

‡ 393,750 l.

§ 7,875,000 l.

|| 3,937,500 l.

¶ 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ** 1 l. 3 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

THE nation is of a very different opinion. The managers, who prevailed upon government to acknowledge so large a debt, have been accused of sacrificing the interest of the public to that of a private society. A writer, who in our days should examine whether this accusation were well or ill-grounded, would pass for an idle man. Such a discussion would be altogether needless, since every circumstance of this transaction has been made public. It will be sufficient to observe, that it was with the nine millions * a year improperly sacrificed by the state, that the company was enabled to answer the demand of 8,756,065 livres† with which it was charged, so that the overplus remaining to them amounted to about 244,000 livres‡ of net revenue.

It is true, they had private simple-contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres§; but they had in trade, in stock, or in debts to call in, 70,733,000 livres§; a sum nearly sufficient to balance their accounts.

THEIR only riches consisted therefore in moveable and unmoveable effects, to the amount of about twenty millions¶, and the prospect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time must bring in three millions ** a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions††.

* 393,750l.

† 3,259,593l. 15s.

** 131,250l.

† 383,077l. 16s. 10d. $\frac{1}{2}$

§ 3,094,568l. 15s.

†† 1,312,500l.

‡ 10,675l.

¶ 875,000l.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

131

BOOK
IV.

INDEPENDENT of these properties, the company enjoyed some very beneficial rights. The exclusive sale of coffee had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception should be made in 1736, with regard to coffee imported from the American islands, they obtained by way of compensation a yearly sum of 50,000 livres*, which was always duly paid. Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767, the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The company obtained no indemnification on this account.

THEY had experienced a greater loss the year before. In 1720 they had been invested with the sole right of transporting slaves to the American colonies. This system soon appeared to be erroneous; and it was agreed that all the merchants in the kingdom should be at liberty to carry on the slave trade, upon condition of adding a pistole † per head to the thirteen livres ‡ granted out of the royal treasury. Supposing that 15,000 negroes were disposed of every year in the French islands, this made a clear income of 345,000 livres § for the company. This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken-off in 1767, and was made-up to them by a more reasonable equivalent.

AT the first formation of the company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres || upon every ton

* 2,187 l. 10s. † 16s. 9d. ‡ 11s. 4d. § 15,093 l. 15s. 2d. || 3s. 9d.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of goods they should export, and of 75* upon every ton they should import from abroad. The ministry, upon the suppression of the bounty upon negroes, increased the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres*, and upon every ton imported to 80†. If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we shall find a produce of above a million‡ for the company, including the 50,000 livres§ they received upon the coffee.

WHILE the income of the company remained entire, their expences were lessened. By the edict of 1764, the islands of France and Bourbon were become the property of the government, who engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement the company was exonerated of two millions¶ a year, without the least detriment to the exclusive trade they enjoyed in those two islands.

WITH all these seemingly prosperous circumstances, the debts of the company were daily increasing. This must inevitably happen, as their income, together with the profits of their trade, was not sufficient to defray the expences of carrying it on, and the charges annexed to the crown, which amounted together to eight millions¶ a year. They might even exceed this, as by their nature they were susceptible of endless increase, according to the political views of government, which is the sole judge of their importance and necessity.

* 3l. 5s. 7d. † 3l. 10s. ‡ 43,750l. § 2,127l. 10s.
¶ 87,500l. ¶ 350,000l.

IN so unfortunate a situation, the company could not possibly support itself without the assistance of government. But for some time past the council of Lewis XV. had appeared to be very indifferent about the existence of that great body. At last an arret of council was issued, bearing date the 13th of August 1769, by which the king suspended the exclusive privilege of the India company, and granted to all his subjects the liberty of navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under some restraint. The arret which opens this new tract to private navigators, requires them to provide themselves with passports, which are to be freely given by the administrators of the India company. It obliges them to make their returns to Port l'Orient, and no where else. It establishes a duty by way of Indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a second arret of council, issued on the sixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent. on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent. upon all commodities of the growth of the islands of France and Bourbon.

THE arret of the 13th of August, by only suspending the privilege of the company, seemed to leave to the proprietors the power of resuming it: but, as they saw no probability of ever being able to do this, they wisely determined to liquidate their concerns in such a manner, as to secure their creditors, and the remains of their own fortunes.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

For this purpose they offered to give up to the king all the company's ships, thirty in number; all the warehouses and other buildings belonging to them at Port l'Orient and in India; the property of their factories, with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military stores; and, lastly, eight hundred slaves which they had reserved in the islands. All these articles were valued at thirty millions * by the proprietors, who at the same time demanded the payment of 16,500,000 livres † which were due to them by the government.

THE king agreed to the proposal, but chose to lessen the purchase-money: not that the effects were not of still greater value while they remained in the hands of the company; but, being made over to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that, instead of 46,500,000 livres ‡ which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres §, upon a capital of thirty millions ||. The edict for that purpose was issued out in January 1770.

THIS new contract the company mortgaged for twelve millions ¶, which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent. and by a lottery in February following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the last expeditions; but it was insufficient; so that, finding

* 1,312,500l.
|| 1,312,500l.

† 721,875l.
¶ 525,000l.

‡ 2,039,375l.

§ 52,500l.

themselves

themselves utterly unable to raise more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the proprietors of the shares.

THE principal articles comprized in this cession, consisted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres * in life annuities; of that part of the contract of nine millions † which exceeded the capital of the shares; of the hotel of Paris; of the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, supposed to be worth 26,000,000 of livres ‡; and, lastly, of three or four millions § of debts, to be called in from debtors who were mostly solvent, in India, in the isles of France and Bourbon, and at San Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the same time to furnish the king with a sum of 14,768,000 livres ||, to be raised by way of a call, which was fixed at 400 livres ¶ per share. The government, in accepting these several offers, engaged on their part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities which the company was bound to pay; all their other engagements, amounting to about forty-five millions **; all the pensions and half-pays granted by the company, amounting to 80,000 livres †† a-year; lastly, to stand to all the charges and risques attending a liquidation that must necessarily continue some years.

* 183,750l. † 393,750l. ‡ 1,137,500l. § About 153,000l. upon an average. || 646,100l. ¶ 17l. 10s. - ** 1,968,750l. †† 3,500l.

THE capital of each share, which by the edict of August 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres †, bearing an interest of 80 livres ‡, the king now raised to 2500 livres §, bearing interest 125 livres || a year. The new interest was made subject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed that this deduction should be annually appropriated to the paying off of the shares by lot, on the footing of their capital of 2500 livres ¶; so that the interest on the shares thus paid off, would increase the sinking fund till the whole of the shares was finally paid off.

THESE respective conditions are recorded in an arret of council, of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations held the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent bearing date the 22d of the same month. In consequence of these agreements, the call has been paid, a sufficiency for the reimbursement of the shares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been taken out every year, and the simple-contract debts of the company have been duly paid when their time was elapsed.

FROM all these particulars, it is no easy matter to frame an idea of the actual mode of existence of the India company, and of the legal state of the trade they carried on. This company, which at present has no property, no business, no object, cannot however be considered as being entirely

† 70l.

‡ 5l. 9s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$

§ 3l. 10s.

¶ 109l. 7s. 6d.

§ 109l. 7s. 6d.

destroyed,

destroyed, since the proprietors have reserved the joint stock that was mortgaged for their shares; and that they have a common chest, and deputies to superintend their interests. On the other hand, their charter has been suspended; but it is only suspended, and is not included among the articles which the company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is still in force; and the ships that are fitted out for the Indian seas, cannot sail without a permission in the name of the company. So that the freedom which has been granted is but a precarious one; and if the proprietors should offer to resume their trade, with a sufficient stock to carry it on, they would have an undoubted right to do it without any new law to impower them. But except this nominal right, which in fact is much the same as if it did not exist, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exercise it; all their other rights, properties, and factories, are now in the hands of government. Let us take a cursory view of those settlements, beginning with Malabar.

BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, lies a district which extends eighteen leagues along the coast, and is at most seven or eight leagues broad. The country, which is very unequal, abounds with pepper and cocoa-trees. It is divided into several less districts, subject to as many Indian lords, who are all vassals to the house of Colastry. The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concerns the worship of the gods. It would be beneath

Present
state of the
French
upon the
coast of
Malabar.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

neath his dignity to stoop to profane matters; and the reins of government are given to his nearest relation. The country is divided into two provinces. In the largest, called the Irouvenate, is the English factory of Tellichery, and the Dutch factory of Cananor. These two nations share the pepper trade between them; but the English commonly carry off 1,500,000 pounds weight, and there seldom remains more than 500,000 for the Dutch.

THE second province, called Cartenate, extends but five leagues along the coast. Here the French were called in by the natives in 1722, with a view to engage them to act against the English; but an accommodation having taken place, and made their assistance unnecessary, they were forced to relinquish a post where they promised themselves some advantages. Fired with resentment and ambition, they returned in greater numbers in 1725, and established themselves sword-in-hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithstanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince, who governed that district, an exclusive right to the pepper trade. This favour was so great an advantage to them, that it gave rise to a colony of 6,000 Indians, who cultivated 6,350 cocoa trees, 3,967 areka, and 7,762 pepper trees. Such was the state of this settlement, when the English made themselves masters of it in 1760.

THE same spirit of destruction that they had shewn in all their conquests, influenced them at Mahé. Their intention was to pull down the houses, and disperse

sovereign of that
purpose. All
When the
found every
as they had left
the advantages
incumbent on them to

with hills, on which were
no longer exist. These
merous, though some precau-
necessary. It is not proper
exposed to the depredations of
to have formerly attempted to plun-
roy the colony, and who might pos-
all the same intentions, in order to put
es under the protection of the English at
ery, which is but three leagues distant
Mahé.

BESIDES the posts requisite to secure the place
itself, it is very necessary to fortify the entrance
of the river. Since the Marattas have got sea-
ports of their own, they infest the sea about Ma-
labar with their piracies. Those banditti even
attempt to land wherever they think there is
some booty to be got. Mahé would not be secure
from their attacks, if it contained money or com-
modities to tempt them.

THE French might make themselves ample
amends for any expences they should incur, if
they did but carry on their trade with spirit and
skill. Their factory is the best situated for the
pepper

pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pounds weight of that commodity. What could not be consumed in Europe might be sold in China, on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would stand them in twelve sous *, and they would sell it for twenty-five or thirty †.

THIS advantage, considerable as it is, would be increased by the profits upon European goods which would be carried over to Mahé. Those who are best acquainted with that factory are of opinion, that it will be an easy matter to dispose of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gunpowder, 50 anchors or grapplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 elks of sail-cloth, a good quantity of quicksilver, and about 200 casks of wine or brandy, for the French settled in the colony, or for the English in the neighbourhood. These several articles together would produce at least 384,000 livres ‡, of which 153,600 § would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. Another advantage attending this circulation is, that there will always be a stock in the factory, which will enable them to purchase the productions of the country in the seasons of the year when they are cheapest.

THE greatest obstacle to trade is the custom-house established in the colony. Half the duties belong to the sovereign of that country, and this has always been a subject of contention. The

* About 6d. $\frac{2}{3}$. † About 1s. 4d. on an average. ‡ 16,800l. § 6,720l.

English of Tellichery, who laboured under the same grievance, have found means to prevent all disputes about these duties, by paying a certain yearly sum as an equivalent. The French might do the same; but they cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unless they previously pay him the sums he has lent, and no longer refuse him the tribute stipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be so easily adjusted at Bengal.

FRANCE has engaged, by the treaty of 1763, to erect no fortifications and keep no troops in that rich and extensive country. The English, who are sovereigns there, will never suffer the French to deviate from what they have required. So that Chandernagore, which before the last war reckoned 60,000 souls, and has now but 24,000, is, and always will be, entirely an open place.

Present
state of
the French
at Bengal.

To this misfortune of a precarious situation may be added injuries and hardships of every kind. Not satisfied with the possession of unlimited authority, the English have been guilty of the most scandalous enormities. They have insulted the French in their work-shops; seduced their workmen, cut the linens off of the looms; insisted that the manufacturers should do no work but for them in the three best months of the year; and that their own ladings should be picked out and completed, before any thing was removed out of the work-shops. The scheme which the French and Dutch had contrived together, of making an exact estimate of the number of weavers, taking

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

only half between them, and leaving the rest to the English, has been considered as an insult. That ruling nation have proceeded so far as to declare, that they would have their factors buy the goods in Chandernagore; and the French have been forced to submit to this hardship, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have so much abused the unjust right of victory, that a philosopher might be tempted to wish for the ruin of their liberty, were not the people infinitely more oppressive and cruel under the government of one man, than under a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the present footing in that opulent part of Asia, the French will meet with perpetual hardships and mortifications, and therefore no solid and lasting advantage can accrue to trade. They would be rescued from this disgrace, if they could exchange Chandernagore for Chiatigan.

CHATIGAN is situated on the confines of Arracan. The Portuguese, who in the days of their prosperity endeavoured to get all the important posts in India into their own hands, made a considerable establishment at that place. Those who were settled there threw off the yoke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spanish dominions, chusing rather to turn pirates than to be slaves. They long infested the neighbouring coasts and seas with their depredations. At last they were attacked by the Moguls, who raised a colony upon
their

their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. This place then sunk into obscurity till 1758, when the English arrived and settled there.

THE climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and provisions are in great plenty; the landing is easy, and the anchorage safe. The continent and the island of Sandiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at least communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chatigan is further off of Patna, Cassimbuzar, and some other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hughly, it is near Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no consequence, whether ships of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that side, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

THOUGH the knowledge they had of these advantages had determined the English to seize upon Chatigan, we are apt to think they would have given it up at the last peace, to get rid of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near them, and which long habit has endeared to them. We even presume, that at Chatigan the English would have desisted from those conditions they required at Chandernagore, which stamp a disgrace upon the possessors, more detrimental to the schemes of commerce than it is possible to conceive. Trade is a free profession. The sea,
the



the voyages, the risque, and the vicissitudes of fortune, all inspire a love of independence. This gives life and spirit to trade, which, when confined, languishes, and is lost.

THE present opportunity is, perhaps, a favourable one, to think of the exchange we propose. The fortifications which the English had begun to erect at Chatigan having been thrown down by frequent earthquakes, they have taken a dislike to the place. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceless town. It is better to strive against nature than against men, and be exposed to the shocks of the earth than to the insults of nations. The French, though restrained at Bengal, fortunately meet with some compensation, enjoying a better situation on the coast of Coromandel.

Present
situation
of the
French
upon the
coast of
Coroman-
del.

To the north of that very extensive coast, they possess Yanam, in the province of Rajahmundry. This factory, which has no land belonging to it, and is situated nine miles from the mouth of the river Ingerson, was formerly a very flourishing one. From mistaken motives it was neglected about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres*, as the cotton manufactures are very considerable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for disposing of European cloth.

* About 19,700*l*.

The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to share the profit with the English, who have a small settlement within two miles of the French.

THE competition is much more detrimental to their interest at Masulipatam. The French, who formerly were masters of the whole town, but have nothing left now except the factory they had before 1749, cannot possibly contend with the English, who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy besides all the favour in their own trade which sovereignty can command. Things being thus circumstanced, the French confine their dealings to the purchase of some fine handkerchiefs and other calicoes, to the value of 150,000 livres*. It is far otherwise at Karikal.

THAT town, situated in the kingdom of Tanjour, on one of the branches of the Caleroon, which will bear ships of 150 tons burden, was ceded to the company in 1738, by a dethroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been restored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to the French, who were in friendship with him. Soon after this, the ungrateful and perfidious prince was strangled by the intrigues of his uncles; and his successor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being desirous of obtaining the friendship of a powerful nation, confirmed them in their possession. The English took the place in 1760,

* 9,562l. 19s.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards restored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

IN its present state, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, most of them employed in weaving ordinary handkerchiefs and cottons, for the wear of the natives. The territory belonging to it, which has been considerably increased by the concessions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at first, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadest part. It is composed of fifteen hamlets, of which one only deserves our notice; this is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no less than 25,000 souls. They weave and paint Persians that are pretty fine, fit for Batavia and the Philippine islands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have small vessels, with which they trade to Ceylon, and along the coast.

FRANCE may draw annually from this settlement, two hundred bales of cottons or handkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the subsistence of her other colonies.

ALL goods bought at Karical, Yanam, and Masulipatam, are carried to Pondicherry, the chief settlement of the French in India.

THIS town, which rose from such small beginnings, in time became a great, powerful, and famous city. The streets, which are all strait, and most of them broad, are lined with two rows of trees, which keep them cool even in the heat of the day. The most remarkable public edifices are a mosque, two pagodas, two churches, and the

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

147
BOOK
IV.

the governor's house, which is reckoned the most magnificent building in the east. They had erected a small citadel in the year 1704; but it is of no use, since they have been allowed to build houses all round it. To supply the loss of this defence, three sides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, bastions, and a glacis which was unfinished in some places. The road was defended by some batteries judiciously placed.

THE town, which was full a league in circumference, contained 70,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Mestees, or Topasses. There were at most 10,000 Mohammedans; the rest were Indians, 15,000 of which were Christians, and the others of seventeen or eighteen different casts or tribes. Three villages, dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 souls.

SUCH was the state of the colony, when the English made themselves masters of it in the beginning of the year 1761, utterly destroyed it, and turned out the inhabitants. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the barbarous right of war could justify such enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from so many cruelties committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation; and consider only the resolution France has taken to restore Pondicherry to its former splendour. Every thing concurs to justify the wisdom of this choice.

THIS town, like all others on the coast of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The ships can anchor close to the shore, under the cannon of the fortifications.



Its territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing more than a barren sand-bank on the sea-coast; but the greatest part is fit for the culture of rice, vegetables, and a root called chaya, which is used in dying. Two small rivers that cross the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the same purpose, particularly for the blue dye. Three miles to the north-east of the town is a hill, which rises a hundred toises above the level of the sea, and is a guide to ships at the distance of seven or eight leagues; which is a very considerable advantage upon so flat a coast. At the top of this hill is a very large body of water, that has been collecting for ages, and, after refreshing and fertilizing a spacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Lastly, the colony is favourably situated for the reception of provisions and merchandise from the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Mysore and Tanjour.

SUCH were the important reasons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As soon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been dispersed by the calamities of war, and by political intrigues, flocked thither in great numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had rebuilt their ruined houses. They are all brought up in the idea that no man can be happy who does not die in the very place where he first saw the light. This prejudice, so pleasing to them, and which it may be so useful to keep up, will undoubtedly make them all return, as soon as the
town

town is inclosed. The weavers, the dyers, the painters, the merchants, those who have some property to preserve, only wait for this security to follow their inclination.

IN their present state, the French factories in India are very expensive, and the returns from them inconsiderable. Unfortunately this disadvantage is not compensated by the islands of France and Bourbon, which have not attained to that degree of prosperity that might be expected.

THE latter of these islands was much extolled; but more speculation than industry was bestowed upon it, and the owners lost their time in conjectures concerning the use it might be put to.

Present
situation
of the
French in
the Isle
of France.

SOME were inclined to make a mart of it, where all India goods should center. They were to be brought thither on India bottoms, and then shipped on board French vessels, which were never to go any further. A double advantage was thought to arise from this scheme; first, in the lessening of expences, as both the pay and the maintenance of India sailors is very trifling; and, secondly, in the preservation of the ships crews, which are often destroyed by too long a voyage, and still more frequently by the climate, especially at Bengal and at Arabia. This system, which ought, perhaps, to have been adopted, was considered as impracticable, on account of the supposed necessity of maintaining a formidable fleet on the seas of Asia, to prevent or check the insults that are often committed in those parts.

OTHERS were of opinion that the inhabitants of the Isle of France should be allowed to trade to

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

India, which they had never yet been suffered to do. The supporters of this system maintained that the proposed freedom would prove an abundant source of wealth to the colony, and consequently to the mother-country. They might be in the right, but the trials that have been made have not proved successful; and, without examining whether this innovation had been judiciously conducted, it was resolved that the island should be entirely confined to agriculture.

THIS new regulation gave rise to fresh mistakes. Men were sent from Europe to the colony, who neither understood husbandry, nor were accustomed to labour. The lands were distributed at a venture, and without distinguishing what was to be cleared from what did not want it. Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their industry, but to the interest they could make with the government. The company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent. upon those that were sent in from India, required that the produce of the country should be delivered into their ware-houses at a very low price. The oppression of the monopoly was aggravated by the tyranny of endless and needless services. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the company, who had kept all the power in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their subjects, or rather with their slaves.

UNDER such a government, no improvements could be expected. Nothing was carried on with
steadiness

steadiness. The culture of cotton, indigo, sugar, arnotto, pepper, tea, cocoa, were all tried, but with so little attention, that no advantage was procured from them. In pursuing chimerical projects, the essential cultures were neglected. Though in the year 1765, there were in the colony 1469 white people, besides the troops; 1587 Indians or free negroes; 11,881 slaves; their productions did not amount to more than 320,650 pounds weight of wheat, 47,430 pounds of rice, 1,570,040 pounds of maize, 142,700 pounds of kidney-beans, 135,500 pounds of oats. Those who had an opportunity of seeing and observing the agriculture of the Isle of France, found it little better than what they had seen among the savages.

SOME useful alterations have been made in the colony since it has been in the hands of government. The culture of coffee has since been introduced there, as it had long been at Bourbon. This has been attended with so much success, that there is reason to expect, that six or seven millions weight may, in time, be gathered, if a prudent administration will only supply the means of improving this culture; since, without such assistance, no colony can possibly prosper. These hopes have been encouraged by the prospect of another advantage.

It is well known that, for these two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themselves by the sale of cloves and nutmegs. To secure to themselves the exclusive trade of these articles, they have enslaved or utterly destroyed the nation that was in possession of those spices; and, lest the price

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of them should fall even in their own hands, they have rooted up most of the trees, and frequently burn the fruit of those they had preserved. This infamous avidity, which has so often excited the indignation of other nations, so strongly exasperated Mr. Poivre (who had travelled all over Asia as a naturalist and a philosopher), that he availed himself of the authority he was intrusted with in the Isle of France, and sent men into the least frequented parts of the Moluccas, to search for what avarice had hitherto withholden from the rest of the world. The labours of those intrepid and sagacious navigators in whom he confided were crowned with success.

On the 24th of June 1770, they brought to the Isle of France 400 nutmeg-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing or ready to grow; 70 clove-trees, and a chest of cloves, some of which were growing, and already sprung up.

THIS rich prize was distributed amongst the colonists, to try all the different soils, and every aspect. Most of the young plants died, and the rest will not probably bear any fruit. But, whatever may happen, the Isle of France must always be allowed to be one of the most valuable possessions for any nation desirous of trading to Asia.

It is situated in the African seas, just at the entrance of the Indian ocean. As it lies a little out of the common track, its expeditions can be carried on with greater secrecy. Those who wish it was nearer our continent, do not consider that, if it were so, it would be impossible to reach the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel in a month's time,

time, and the most distant gulphs in two months at most, which is an inestimable advantage to a nation that has no sea-port in India. This island, though in the same latitude as the barren and scorching coasts of Africa, is temperate and healthful. The soil is stony, but tolerably fertile. Experience has shewn that it will produce most of the necessaries, and even of the luxuries of life. Whatever it may want may be supplied from Madagascar, which abounds with provisions; and from Bourbon, where the inhabitants have retained their simplicity of manners, and a taste for husbandry. The iron that may be wanted, and cannot be procured from those two islands, might be digged out of their own mines.

GREAT BRITAIN sees, with a jealous eye, her rivals possessed of a settlement which may prove the ruin of her flourishing trade with Asia. At the breaking-out of a war, her utmost efforts will certainly be aimed at a colony that threatens her richest treasures. What a misfortune for France, should she suffer herself to be deprived of it!

YET this is by no means improbable, if we consider that hitherto there has been no settled plan for fortifying this island; that the means have always been wanting, or misapplied; that the ministry of Lewis XV. have constantly waited for the dispatches of the administrators to come to a determination, just as one would wait for the return of a courier from the frontiers. Far from supposing that the besiegers would meet with an insurmountable resistance, it is to be feared they would

It behoves the court of Versailles to fortify the Isle of France and Pondicherry, if it will have any share in the trade of India.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

would succeed in their design by the forces they have in India, without any succours from Europe.

BUT it is now time to deliver our opinion without reserve. Whoever surveys the coasts of the Isle of France, must be astonished to see them every where accessible to boats. Though they are surrounded with reefs, there are many bays where troops may be landed under cover of the ships guns.

IN those parts of the island where vessels are obliged to keep further out, the sea is so calm and smooth between the reef and the land, that boats may come up in the night without the least danger.

IF in some places between the reef and the land the water is too shallow for the boats to come ashore, there the troops may land, because the water will not come up to their knees. The sea is so calm between the land and the reefs, that this landing may be effected with the greatest safety. A retreat is more easily secured in case of resistance, and the boats will be less exposed while the landing is carried on.

THIS is the true idea we are to frame of the Isle of France; for, if we sometimes meet with a point where a boat cannot land, we are sure of finding an opening at twenty toises to the right or left. The enemy therefore will never attempt to force a landing, unless they are too rash and ignorant of the situation. As it is impossible to guard a coast that measures forty leagues, there will always be some defenceless place fit for landing.

DURING the last war, batteries had been erected all round the island, which, pointing to the sea, could

could only fire upon ships anchored at a distance, or under sail. Some able engineers have discovered that these batteries, erected at a great expence, served no other purpose but to divide the forces; that they would be left without defence, as they were useless; and that they would not resist the fire of the ships, which the best fortifications cannot stand against. They are now abandoned, and nothing has been substituted in their room.

THE harbour on the north-west side is the capital part of the island, and must be the enemy's principal object in their plan for an attack. The nature of the ground will not admit of fortifying it in such a manner as to enable it to stand a siege. This should be secured from a surprise; and a central spot in the internal part of the country should be fortified, from whence, by means of communications properly disposed, the forces of the colony might be sent with expedition to any part where they might be wanted.

WITH such a post of defence as a last resource, the enemy would be obliged to fight a number of battles before the island could be subdued. Neither could this be effected, if the roads cut through the woods, and which lead from the internal parts of the island to the sea-shore, were so artfully contrived as to facilitate the march of the besieged towards the shore, and at the same time to obstruct the progress of the enemy towards the inland parts. The nature of the country will admit of this: it is full of ravines which must be crossed, and of mountains which interrupt the march. It is an easy matter to seize the most advantageous situation.

HOWEVER:

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

HOWEVER, there is so necessary and absolute a connection between the Isle of France and Pondicherry, that those two possessions are entirely dependent on each other; for, without the Isle of France, there would be no protection for the settlements in India; and, without Pondicherry, the Isle of France would be exposed to the invasion of the English from Asia as well as from Europe.

THE Isle of France and Pondicherry, when considered as having a necessary and mutual connection, will be a security to one another. Pondicherry will protect the Isle of France, as being the rival of Madras, which the English must always cover with their land and sea forces; and, on the other hand, the Isle of France will always be ready to succour Pondicherry, or to act offensively, as circumstances shall require.

FROM these principles it appears how necessary it is to put Pondicherry immediately in a state of defence. Ever since the year 1764, private interest, that clashes with that of the nation, has made it a matter of doubt which was the best plan of fortification for this important place. Considerable sums have already been expended upon this point, and without any effect, because they have been successively laid out upon contrary systems. It would be needless to dwell upon the mischiefs attending these perpetual irresolutions.

WHEN the Isle of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper posture of defence, trade may then be thought of, which ceased to exist from the moment it became free. Indeed the voyages to
China

China have continued; those to the islands of France and Bourbon have even increased: but, except one or two expeditions, which were owing to particular circumstances, no prudent merchant has sent his property to Malabar, Coromandel, or Bengal; and the few, who have ventured to do it, have been ruined. It could not be otherwise; and yet no inference can be drawn from thence in favour of exclusive privileges.

The French being once firmly established in India, will shake off the oppression which the English imposed upon them.

It may be remembered, that the ruin of the company, which would have happened of itself, was hastened by avarice and animosity. Political views, which had had no share in this event, had not paved the way for the gradual introduction of that public and open trade which was to supply the place of the trade carried on by an exclusive charter. The sudden transition, therefore, from one to the other, could not possibly succeed. Before the new system had been adopted, private merchants ought to have been insensibly, and by degrees, employed to continue the commerce in lieu of the company. They should have been instructed how to acquire a thorough knowledge of the several branches of a trade to which they were utter strangers. It would have been necessary to allow them time to form connections in the factories; and to favour and assist them in their first expeditions.

BUT all these precautions would still have been insufficient to insure the success of the French traders in India. It was impossible they should be able to strive against the English, who, being masters of every branch of trade, and in all places, had all the advantages

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

tages resulting from power, and from the loose principles which prosperity inspires, to enable them to defeat all attempts of this kind. In whatever manner, therefore, or in whatever shape, the trade of France was carried on, it was a necessary consequence of the situation of affairs that it must suffer greatly. It would undoubtedly meet with less opposition, if the court of Versailles were to put the settlements in India in a condition to grant that protection which every sovereign owes to his subjects throughout his dominions. This opposition would still be lessened in a greater degree, if the British ministry would watch over the execution of treaties with that steadiness which justice requires. But this oppression, equally disgraceful to the nation that suffers from it, and to the nation which allows it, can never be effectually removed, but by restoring the balance between them; and unfortunately this can only be done by a war.

FAR be it from us to suggest any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of discord. Rather let the voice of reason and philosophy be heard by the rulers of the world. May all sovereigns, after so many ages of error, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over wasted regions, and people groaning under the weight of oppression! May all men become brethren, accustom themselves to consider the universe as one family under the eye of one common father! But these wishes, which are those of every sensible and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious ministers, who
hold

hold the reins of empire. Their busy and restless disposition will still shed torrents of blood.

SOME pitiful commercial interest will again arm the French and the English. Though Great Britain, in most of her wars, has aimed chiefly at destroying the industry of her neighbours; and though the superiority of her naval forces may still keep up this hope, which has so often been disappointed; we may safely foretell that she would chuse to remove the scene of action from the seas of Asia, where she would have so little to gain, and so much to lose. That power is not ignorant of the secret wishes formed on all sides for the overthrow of an edifice, which eclipses all the rest. The subah of Bengal is secretly exasperated that he has not even the appearance of authority left. The subah of the Deccan is inconsolable to see his commerce under the controul of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to dispel the jealousies of his tyrants. The Marattas are exasperated to find nothing but obstacles to their depredations. All the powers in those parts, either are actually engaged, or think themselves on the eve of being so. England, we may presume, would not wish to see the French at the head of such a confederacy. On the contrary, we may venture to foretell that a strict neutrality for India would be the wisest plan they could pursue, and one they would most readily adopt.

BUT would this system be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are aware, that warlike preparations made at the Isle of France



France might be employed with advantage; that the conquests of the English are too extensive not to be open to attacks; and that, since their experienced officers are returned home, the British possessions in Indostan are only guarded by young people, who are more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exercises. It is, therefore, to be presumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly seize an opportunity of repairing their former misfortunes. At the sight of their standards, all these oppressed sovereigns would take the field; and the rulers of India, surrounded with enemies, and attacked at once on the north and on the south, by sea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

THEN the French, considered as the deliverers of Indostan, would emerge from that state of humiliation into which their own misconduct hath plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Asia, provided the revolution they brought about proved to them a lesson of moderation. Their trade would be extensive and flourishing, so long as they knew how to be just. But this prosperity would end in some fatal catastrophe, should an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage, and oppress. To give stability to their situation, they must even, by noble and generous proceedings, oblige their rivals to overlook their advantages. No great degree of magnanimity will be requisite, patiently to view the operations of the northern nations of Europe in the seas of Asia,

B O O K V.

Trade of Denmark, Ostend, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, and Russia, to the East Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India.

IT is the general opinion, that, in the earliest times, a people called the Cimbri possessed, at the extremity of Germania, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, now known by the name of Holstein, Sléswic, and Jutland; and that the Teutones lived in the adjacent islands. Whether these people had or had not the same origin, certain it is, that they came out of their forests, or out of their marshes, together in a body, and as one nation, and penetrated among the Gauls, in quest of booty, glory, and a milder climate. They were even preparing to cross the Alps, when Rome thought it was proper to stem a torrent which carried all before it. Those barbarians triumphed over all the generals that proud republic sent to oppose them, till the memorable æra when they were totally defeated by Marius.

THEIR country, which became almost a desert after that terrible catastrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey out of that vast space between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, marched towards the north and west of Europe, subduing all the nations they found in their way. They conquered Russia, Saxony,

VOL. II.

M

Westphalia,

BOOK
V.Ancient
revolu-
tions in
Denmark.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Westphalia, the Cimbrian Chersonesus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway, and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin their leader traversed so many countries, and endeavoured to subdue them, only with a view to excite the people against the formidable, odious, and tyrannical power of the Romans. That spirit of animosity, which he had excited in the north, operated secretly with so much force after his death, that in a few centuries all nations agreed to turn their arms against that empire, the declared enemy of all liberty; and, after having shaken it by repeated attacks, were at length successful enough totally to subvert it.

DENMARK and Norway remained without inhabitants after these glorious expeditions. By insensible degrees they recovered their former state, and began to be of some consequence again towards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now exerted itself, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two seas, they commenced pirates, which is always the first step towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

THEY first made trial of their strength against the neighbouring states, and seized the few merchant ships they found sailing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by these successes, they were enabled to plan more considerable undertakings. They infested the seas and coasts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Flanders, France, and even of Spain, Italy, and Greece. They frequently penetrated into the inland parts of those extensive countries, and even ventured upon the conquest of Normandy

Normandy and England. Notwithstanding the confusion that reigns in the annals of those barbarous times, we may still trace some of the causes of so many extraordinary events.

THE inhabitants of Denmark and Norway had originally a strong propensity to piracy, which has always been observed in people bordering upon the sea, when they are not restrained by civilization and good laws. Custom must necessarily have made the ocean familiar to them, and inured them to its storms. Having no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a scanty resource from the chase, in a country covered with ice and snow, they could have no strong attachment to their native land. The facility with which they built their ships, which were nothing more than rafts coarsely put together for the purpose of sailing along the coasts, enabled them to go to all parts, to land their forces, to plunder, and to reembark. Piracy was to them what it had been to the first heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; an honourable profession, which consisted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inspired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, sometimes under the joint command of different chiefs, and sometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. These sudden attacks, made in a variety of places at the same time, left only to the inhabitants of the coasts, which were but ill defended, in consequence of their being under a bad government, the dreadful alternative either of

M 2

being

being massacred, or giving up all their property to redeem their lives.

THIS propensity to plunder was a natural consequence of the savage life of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That victorious impostor improved, if we may be allowed to say so, the natural fierceness of those nations by his sanguinary tenets. He ordered that all the implements of war, such as swords, axes, and lances, should be deified. The most sacred engagements were confirmed by these instruments which they so highly valued. A lance set up in the middle of a plain, was the signal for prayer and sacrifice. Wodin himself at his death was ranked among the immortal gods, and was the first deity of those horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were stained and consecrated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the god of armies, the father of slaughter, the destroyer of mankind, the promoter of discord. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to send him a certain number of souls, which they devoted to him. These souls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that he appeared in every battle, either to protect those who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he reserved for himself; that these followed him to the regions of bliss, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, and to martyrdom, to obtain

obtain this reward. This belief increased their natural propensity to war, till it grew to enthusiasm, and to a religious thirst for blood.

CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas resulting from such a system. Its missionaries endeavoured to bring their proselytes to a sedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their instructions. They gave them a disgust for their roving life, by suggesting to them other means of subsistence. They were so fortunate as to inspire them with a love of agriculture, and more especially of fishing. The great plenty of herrings, which then came in shoals to their coasts, afforded them an easy means of procuring food. When they had set apart a sufficient quantity of these fish for their own use, in order to preserve it, they bartered the remainder for salt. This intercourse was encouraged at its rise by one common faith, new prospects, mutual wants, and great safety. Such a total revolution ensued, that, since the conversion of the Danes and Norwegians, not a single instance is to be found in history of their expeditions and depredations.

THE new spirit, which seemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the ascendant which the Hanse towns had acquired. Even when that great and singular confederacy fell into decay, Hamburg still maintained the superiority it had obtained over all the subjects of the Danish dominions. They were beginning to break the bands

Denmark
begins to
carry on a
trade with
India.

that had subjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the East Indies by an incident that deserves to be noticed.

A Dutch factor, named Boschower, being sent by his nation to conclude a treaty of commerce with the king of Ceylon, so ingratiated himself with that monarch, that he became chief of his council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boschower, intoxicated with these honours, hastened to Europe, to make a parade of them before his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldness with which those republicans received the titled slave of an Asiatic court; and was so highly provoked at it, that he went over to Christiern IV. king of Denmark, and offered him his services, and the interest he had at Ceylon. His proposals were accepted. He sailed in 1618, with six ships, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the company that had associated themselves to carry on a trade to India. His death, which happened in their passage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived. The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon; and their chief, Oré Giedde de Tommerup, saw no other resource than to carry them to Tanjour, a part of the continent nearest to that island.

TANJOUR is a small state, which is but a hundred miles in its greatest length, and eighty in its greatest breadth. It is of all that coast the province that bears the greatest quantity of rice.

This natural wealth, added to a variety of useful manufactures, and a great plenty of roots for dying, makes the public revenue amount to near five millions *. Its fertility is owing to its being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate. At upwards of four hundred miles from the head, it divides into two streams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eastern branch takes the name of Coleroon. The other retains the name of Caveri, and sub-divides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preserve it from that terrible drought which burns up the rest of Coromandel for the greatest part of the year.

THIS happy situation made the Danes wish to form a settlement in Tanjour. Their proposals met with a favourable reception. They obtained a fruitful and populous territory; on which they built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortress of Dannebourg, sufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their part, they engaged to pay an annual homage of 16,500 livres†, which is continued to this time.

CIRCUMSTANCES were favourable for establishing a large commerce. The Portuguese, who groaned under the oppression of a foreign yoke, made only feeble efforts to preserve their possessions; the Spaniards sent no ships but to the Molucca and Philippine islands; and the Dutch were solely intent upon engrossing the spice trade.

* 218,750*l*.† About 722*l*.

The English felt the effects of the disturbances their country laboured under, even in India. All these powers could not see this new rival without regret, but none opposed it.

In consequence of this, the Danes, who set out with a capital of no more than 853,263 livres *, carried on a pretty considerable trade in all parts of India. Unhappily the Dutch company acquired such a superiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had traded most advantageously; and, by a still greater misfortune, the dissensions, that rent the north of Europe, would not permit the mother-country to attend to such remote concerns as those of this settlement. The Danes at Tranquebar insensibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and with the rival nations, whose competition they could not sustain. They were discouraged by this inferiority, and the company gave up their charter, and made over their settlements to the government, as an indemnification for the sums it had advanced.

Changes
the Danish
trade has
undergone
in India.

A NEW company was formed in 1670 upon the ruins of the old one. Christiern V. gave them, in ships and other effects, to the value of 310,828 livres, 10 sous †; and the adventurers advanced 732,600 livres ‡. This second undertaking, which was entered upon without a sufficient fund, proved still more unsuccessful than the first. After a few voyages, the factory of

* About 37,330*l*. † 13,598*l*. 14*s*. 11*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$ ‡ 32,051*l*. 5*s*.

Tranquebar was left to itself. Their small territory, and two vessels that they freighted for the merchants of that country, were the only means they had to supply the inhabitants and their garrison. These resources sometimes failed them; and, to save themselves from the effects of famine, they were reduced to mortgage three of the four bastions that constituted their fortress. They were scarce able to fit out a ship for Europe once in three years with a very moderate cargo.

PITY seemed to be the only sentiment that so desperate a situation could inspire. But the ever watchful jealousy and suspicious avarice of other nations, stirred up an odious war against the Danes. The Raja of Tanjour, who had frequently intercepted their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the instigation of the Dutch. That prince had nearly taken the place after a six months siege, when it was succoured and saved by the English. This event neither was, nor could be, attended with any important consequences. The Danish company declined daily, and was at length totally ruined in 1730.

Two years after this, a new company was formed, which still subsists. The favours that were heaped upon it, to enable it to carry on a free and advantageous trade, plainly shew of what importance this commerce appeared to the government. The charter of the company is settled for forty years. Whatever belongs to the fitting out of their ships is exempted from all duties. The workmen they employ,
whether

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

whether natives or foreigners, are not tied down to the regulations of particular companies, which are a restraint upon industry in Denmark, as well as in other countries in Europe. They are not obliged to use stamp paper in their transactions. They have an absolute jurisdiction over the persons they employ; and the sentences passed by the directors are not liable to be reversed, unless the punishment is capital. To remove even the appearance of constraint, the sovereign has renounced the right he has of interfering in the administration of their affairs, as being chief proprietor. He has no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and has only reserved to himself a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He has even bound himself to ratify all political conventions they may think proper to make with the Asiatic powers.

In return for so many indulgences, government has only required one per cent. upon all merchandize of India and China which should be sent abroad, and two and a half per cent. upon all that should be consumed at home.

THE grant containing the above conditions was no sooner confirmed, than adventurers were sought for; and, to engage them the more easily, the stock was distinguished into two different kinds. The first, called *fixed*, was that, in which all the effects the old company had in Europe and Asia were destined to be invested. The other stock was called *variable*, because every year it was regulated by the number, the lading, and the expence

expence of the ships the company thought proper to fit out. Every proprietor may chuse whether he will be concerned in these expeditions, the profits of which are settled at the close of every voyage. If any one should decline to run the risque, a circumstance which has never yet happened, the chance would then be offered to another. By this arrangement, the company became permanent by the *fixed*, and annual by the *variable* stock.

It seemed a difficult matter to state the share of expence that each of these funds was to bear. Every thing was settled with more ease than was expected. It was agreed that the *variable* should only pay the necessary expences for the purchase, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ships. All other charges were to be defrayed from the *fixed* stock, which, by way of compensation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which should be sold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that should be sent out from Tranquebar. This continual addition to the *fixed* stock has so increased the capital, that, instead of four hundred shares at 1125 livres *, which was the original stock of the company, it now consists of sixteen hundred shares at 1687l. 10s. †. It was settled at this number in 1755; and the duties, which went to the increase of the *fixed* stock, have ever since been applied to the increasing of the dividend, which till then had been taken upon the profits of the *variable* stock.

* 49l. 4s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

† 73l. 16s. 1d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

EVERY proprietor, though but of a single share, has a vote at the general meetings. A proprietor of three shares has two votes; a proprietor of five has three votes; and so on in the same proportion to twenty shares, which entitle the proprietor to twelve votes; but no man can have any greater number.

WHEN the charter was renewed for twenty years in 1722, some new regulations were made. It has been stipulated, that no member of the company should at any time have more than three votes, and that none should be allowed to give his vote in writing or by proxy.

State of
the Danish
trade in
India.

DENMARK trades to the same parts of Asia as other European nations. The pepper brought from Malabar does not, upon an average, exceed sixty thousand weight a year.

EVERY circumstance would lead us to imagine that their trade must be considerable on the coast of Coromandel. They are in possession of an excellent territory; though it is but two leagues in circumference, the population amounts to thirty thousand souls. There are about ten thousand inhabitants in the town of Tranquebar; and twelve thousand more in a large village, where they work at ordinary manufactures. The rest are usefully employed in some smaller villages. Three hundred Danes, fifty of whom compose the garrison, are the only Europeans in the settlement. The expence of maintaining them amounts to no more than 96000 livres * a year, which is nearly the income drawn from them.

* 4200*l*.

THE factors of the company have but little business to transact. Two ships only are dispatched once in three years; which convey no more than 1800 bales of ordinary cotton, and whose freight does not exceed 1,500,000 livres *. The factors themselves do not know how to improve their leisure to the advancement of their own private fortune. They have no other expedient than to lend the small capital they have at their disposal to Indian merchants at a high interest: and indeed Tranquebar, though an ancient settlement, has not that appearance of industry and opulence which is observable in more modern settlements which have been conducted with spirit and skill. The French, driven out of their own settlements, had contributed to give it some degree of importance; but, upon their leaving it, the settlement fell again into the same languid state as before. Yet the situation of the Danes in Coromandel is not so bad as at Bengal.

Soon after their arrival in Asia, they displayed their flag on the Ganges. Their ill success soon obliged them to quit it, and they never appeared there again till 1755. Commercial jealousy, which is become the ruling passion of our age, has frustrated their views upon Bankibasar, and they have been reduced to fix in the neighbourhood of that place. The French, who alone had supported the new factory, found a refuge there during the calamities of the last war, and every assistance that friendship and gratitude could offer. Few ships

* 65,625 l.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

come thither directly from Europe. Since 1757 there have been but two; both their cargoes together had cost but 2,160,000 livres * at home.

THE trade to China being less tedious and less liable to obstacles, the Danish company has pursued it more warmly than either that to the Ganges or to Coromandel, which require a previous stock. They send a large ship every year, and frequently two. The teas, which were their chief return, were mostly consumed in England. The acquisition that kingdom has made of the Isle of Man, which was the staple for that contraband trade, by depriving the Danes of that market, must necessarily lessen their dealings with China.

THE annual sales of the company now amount to 6,500,000 livres †. It is not probable that they will increase much. We know their expeditions are easily made, and at a trifling expence. Their sailors, though not so venturous as those of some other nations, have prudence and experience. The iron they send to India is found in the mines of Norway. The government pays them a very high price for the saltpetre it obliges them to bring home. The national manufactures are neither so numerous nor so much encouraged as to be any hindrance to their sales. They can easily dispose of their goods all over the North, and in some part of Germany. They have good laws, and their whole conduct deserves the highest encomiums. Perhaps, there is not any company that can be compared to this in the honesty and prudence of their transactions.

* 94,500l.

† 284,375l.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these advantages, the Danish company will always be in a declining state. The consumption of their commodities will never be very great, in a region which nature has doomed to poverty, and which industry itself cannot enrich. The mother country is neither populous nor powerful enough to afford them the means of extending their commerce. Their stock is small, and will always continue so. Foreigners will not trust their money in the hands of a body which is under the controul of arbitrary power in an absolute monarchy. With a system of laws that would do honour to the best-constituted republic, they must suffer all the hardships of slavery. A despotic government, with the best intentions, can never have it in its power to do good. The first steps taken by such a government are, to deprive the subjects of that free exercise of their will which is the true source of their activity; and, when this spring of action is once broken, it can never be restored again. It is mutual confidence that connects mankind, unites their interests, and promotes trade. Whereas arbitrary power puts an end to all confidence, because it excludes every idea of security.

THE project formed in 1728, of transferring the company from Copenhagen to Altena, could not have remedied these inconveniences. The ships, indeed, would have been more easily dispatched, and would not have been exposed to the danger of losing their voyage, which sometimes happens from the ice they meet with in the Sound; but



but we cannot agree with the authors of the scheme, that the vicinity would have induced the Hamburgers to hazard their capitals upon a trade for which they had always expressed an aversion. So that we may venture to affirm, that England and Holland were guilty of a needless act of tyranny, when they opposed this domestic plan of a free and independent power. Their anxiety with regard to Ostend was better grounded.

Establishment of an India company at Ostend.

THAT knowledge of trade and government, and that sound philosophy, which insensibly spread over all Europe, met with invincible obstacles in some monarchies. These improvements could not reach the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war, and aggrandizement by conquests. The English and Dutch, whose attention was engaged in preventing France from increasing her commerce, her settlements, and her navy, excited enemies against her on the continent, and lavished immense sums upon the house of Austria, which were employed against France: but, at the peace, the luxury of one crown restored more riches to the other than it had taken from it by the war.

THE power of the house of Austria, which ought to be formidable from the extent of its dominions, is confined by reason of their situation; for most of its provinces are distant from the sea. The soil of the country yields but a small quantity of wine, and few of the productions that are so much valued by other nations. It affords neither oil, silk, nor

fine wool, which are in so much repute. This state had no pretensions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal. With the usual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to industry and manufactures, which might have supplied the means of indulging that expensive taste. The contempt in which it has always held the sciences, prevented its progress in every thing. Artists will never be eminent in any country where they are not assisted by men of learning. Sciences and arts must both languish, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant spirit of the House of Austria kept her vast domains in a state of poverty, superstition, and a rude kind of luxury.

EVEN the Low Countries, formerly so celebrated for their activity and industry, retained nothing of their ancient splendour. Not a single ship was to be seen in the harbour of Antwerp; it was no longer the store-house of the North, as it had been for two centuries past. Brussels and Louvain, far from supplying other nations with their cloathing, bought their own of the English. That valuable article, the herring-fishery, had passed from Bruges to Holland. Ghent, Courtray, and some other towns, found their linen and lace manufactures decrease daily. Those provinces, placed between the three most enlightened and most trading nations in Europe, had not been able, with all their natural advantages, to support so powerful a competition. After striving some time against oppression, against impediments multiplied by ignorance, and against

the privilege which a rapacious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totally fallen to decay.

PRINCE Eugene, as great in a political as he was in a military capacity, with a mind superior to every prejudice, had been long in search of the means of enriching a power, whose boundaries he had so greatly enlarged; when a proposal was made to him of establishing an India company at Ostend. The first contrivers of this scheme had very extensive views. They pretended that, if this undertaking could be accomplished, it would excite a spirit of industry in all the states under the dominion of the house of Austria; would supply that power with a navy, one part of which would be in the Netherlands, and the other at Fiume and Trieste; would rescue it from the kind of dependence it was still under for the subsidies from England and Holland; and render it formidable to the coasts of Turkey; and even to the city of Constantinople.

THE able minister, to whom this was addressed, was very sensible of the value of such overtures; he would not, however, be too precipitate. To accustom his own court and all Europe to this new establishment, he ordered that two ships should be sent out to India in 1717, with only his own passports. Their voyage was so successful, that more were sent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the court of Vienna thought it was necessary to secure the property of the adventurers, who were for the most part English and Dutch, by the most advantageous charter that ever had been granted.

THE

THE new company, which had a capital of twenty millions divided into ten thousand shares, appeared with advantage in all the markets of India. They made two settlements, that of Coblom between Madras and Sadraspatnam, on the coast of Coromandel; and that of Bankibasar, on the Ganges. They were even in search of a place where their ships might touch for refreshments, and had turned their views upon Madagascar for that purpose. The company were so fortunate as to be able to repose an entire confidence in their agents, who had shewn a degree of resolution sufficient to surmount every obstacle that jealousy had thrown in their way; and a share of understanding which had extricated them from all the snares that had been laid for them. This confidence was still increased by the richness of their returns, and the value of their shares; which brought in fifteen per cent. It is not to be supposed they would have been disappointed, had not their projects been opposed by political interests. To give a clear idea of the reasons of this policy, we must trace the subject from the beginning,

WHEN Isabella had sent out ships to facilitate the discovery of America, and which proceeded as far as the Philippine islands, Europe was sunk in such a state of ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit all subjects of Spain, who were not natives of Castile, from navigating to the East and West Indies. That part of the Low Countries which had not recovered its liberty, having been ceded in 1598 to the infantia Isabella, on her marriage with the archduke Albert, the new sove-

Causes of
the de-
struction
of the com-
pany at
Ostend.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

reigns were required to enter into a solemn engagement, not to have any concern in this trade. When these provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, no alteration was made in this odious stipulation. The Flemings, justly offended at being abridged of the right, which all people are by nature entitled to; of trading wherever other nations are not legally possessed of an exclusive privilege, complained loudly of this imposition. They were seconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who procured the permission to trade to the East Indies. The act to ratify this grant was not yet issued, when Portugal shook off the yoke under which it had so long been oppressed. The fear of increasing the discontent of the Portuguese, whom the Spaniards wished rather to sooth, prevented the introduction of a new rival to the Portuguese in Asia, and protracted the conclusion of this important affair. It was not yet settled, when it was resolved at Munster, in 1648, that the subjects of the king of Spain should never extend their trade in India beyond what it was at that period. This act ought not to have been less binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid; since he possesses the Low Countries on the same terms, and with the same restrictions, they were subject to when under the dominion of Spain.

SUCH were the arguments made use of by the English and the Dutch, in order to effect the suppression of the new company, whose success gave them great umbrage. Those two allies, who by their maritime forces could have entirely destroyed

Ostend and its trade, were desirous of avoiding a dispute with a power which they themselves had raised, and which they thought they stood in need of against the house of Bourbon. So that, though they were determined not to suffer the house of Austria to go to the source of their riches, they contented themselves with making remonstrances on the violation of the most solemn engagements. They were seconded by France, which was equally interested in this matter, and was also guarantee of the violated treaty.

THE emperor paid no regard to these representations. He was induced to persist in his undertaking by the obstinacy of his own disposition, by the ambitious prospects that had been suggested to him, and by the great privileges and indulgences granted by Spain to the merchants residing in his dominions. That crown then entertained the hopes of obtaining the heiress of the house of Austria for Don Carlos, and thought no concessions too great for such an alliance. The union of those two courts, which had always been considered as irreconcilable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itself in danger. Numberless leagues were formed, and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to dissolve that connection, which was thought to be more dangerous than it really was. All these attempts were ineffectual, till the council of Madrid, having no more treasures to lavish upon Germany, were convinced that they were pursuing a visionary interest. Austria was not alarmed at the defection of her ally, and seemed determined to assert her claims, and especially her commercial interests. Whether the

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

maritime powers were intimidated by this steadiness, or whether, as was more probably the case, they only consulted the dictates of sound policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic sanction in 1727. The court of Vienna acknowledged this important service, by sacrificing the Ostend company.

THOUGH the public acts take notice only of a suspension for seven years, the proprietors plainly saw that their ruin was determined, and that this stipulation was only inserted from respect to the imperial dignity. They had too high an opinion of the court of London and the states general, to suppose they would have secured the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions for a mere momentary advantage. This persuasion determined them to think no more of Ostend, and to dispose of their stock some other way. They made several successive attempts to form an establishment at Hamburgh, at Triest, and in Tuscany; but all their endeavours proved abortive, either from the badness of the situation, the efforts of powerful nations, or the intrigues of politics. Those were the most successful who turned their views towards Sweden.

General
sketch of
the ancient
govern-
ment of
Sweden.

SWEDEN, whose inhabitants, known by the name of Goths, had contributed to the subversion of the Roman empire, when they had spread destruction with the violence and rapidity of a torrent, retreated into their deserts, and were lost in their former obscurity. Their domestic contests, which were always violent, though continual, prevented them from thinking of foreign wars, or from uniting their interests with those of other nations. They had

had unfortunately the worst of all constitutions, in which authority is so divided, that neither of the several powers knows exactly what share it is possessed of. The several distinct claims of the king, of the clergy, of the nobility, of the cities, and of the peasants, occasioned such a scene of confusion, that it must oftentimes necessarily have proved the ruin of the kingdom, if their neighbours had not laboured under the same state of barbarism. Gustavus Vasa put an end to that anarchy, by uniting the greater part of those powers in his own person; but he plunged the state into another calamity, as fatal as the former.

THIS country, from the great extent of its coast, its excellent harbours, its plenty of timber, its iron and copper mines, and from its abounding with every material requisite to form a navy, seemed as it were designed for navigation, which, however, it neglected when it grew weary of piracy. The people of Lubeck traded with the Swedes for the productions of their country; and brought them salt, stuffs, and all the foreign merchandize they wanted. No ships were seen in their roads; nor were there any magazines in their towns, which did not belong to that republic.

THE haughty soul of Gustavus could not brook this dependence. He was determined to break the bands that cramped the industry of his subjects; but he was too precipitate in his measures. He shut his harbours against the people of Lubeck, before he had built any ships, or had got any merchants. From this period there was no further intercourse between his subjects and other nations; and this

sudden and total interruption of trade proved fatal to agriculture, that first of arts in all countries, and the only one then known in Sweden. The fields lay fallow, when the husbandman no longer found for the produce of his land that usual and constant demand, which till then had been a spur to his industry. Some English and Dutch ships, which appeared there at distant intervals, had not yet revived the former spirit of commerce, when Gustavus Adolphus ascended the throne,

He signalized the first years of his reign by several useful alterations. Agriculture was encouraged; the mines were worked with greater skill; the companies were formed to trade to Persia and the West Indies; the foundations of a new colony were laid on the coast of North America: the Swedish vessels were seen in all the seas of Europe, carrying copper, iron, wood, tallow, tar, hides, butter, corn, fish, and furs; returning with wine, brandy, salt, spice, and all sorts of stuffs.

THIS prosperity was of short duration. The wars of the great Gustavus in Germany soon checked the rising industry of the Swedes. His successors endeavoured to revive it; but it was again destroyed by fresh wars, which lasted till the death of Charles XII. During that long period, the kings aimed only to acquire arbitrary power; and the genius of the nation was wholly turned to arms.

THE Swedes did not apply themselves to useful pursuits, till they had lost all their conquests, and till the elevation of Russia left them no hopes of new ones. The states of the kingdom, having abolished

abolished despotism, corrected the abuses of so faulty an administration. The rapid transition from a state of slavery to that of liberty, did not however occasion those violent disturbances which commonly attend such revolutions. All the changes were made upon mature deliberation. The first attention was paid to the most necessary professions, which till then had been unnoticed, or despised. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were soon introduced. Several useful treatises, not unworthy of the most enlightened nations, were published on the most abstruse sciences. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where they might gain any kind of knowledge. Those citizens, who had been for a long time absent from their country while it remained in a state of ruin and devastation, returned and brought back with them the various talents they had acquired. Order, political œconomy, and the several branches of government, became subjects of inquiry. Whatever concerned the republic was maturely discussed in the general assemblies, and freely approved or censured in the public writings. Improvements of every kind were adopted, from whatever part of the globe they came. Foreigners, who introduced any new discoveries, or any branch of useful knowledge, met with encouragement; and it was at this favourable juncture that the agents of the Ostend company made their appearance.

A RICH merchant of Stockholm, named Henry Konig, approved of their schemes, and procured the approbation of the diet in 1731. An India company

BOOK
V.

The
Swedes
cultivate
the India
trade.
Basis on
which it
is founded.

company was established, with an exclusive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The charter was only for fifteen years. It was thought that this would be the best expedient, either to afford an early opportunity of rectifying any imperfections incident to new undertakings, or to relieve the anxiety of many citizens who were dissatisfied with an undertaking which they thought repugnant to the nature of the climate and the constitution. In order, as much as possible, to unite the advantages of a free trade with those of a privileged association, it was agreed that the stock should not be fixed, and that each proprietor should be at liberty to withdraw his own at the end of every voyage. As most of the adventurers were foreigners, it was thought equitable to secure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the government 2250 livres * upon the cargo of every ship.

NOTWITHSTANDING this duty, which almost confined their trade to China, the proprietors divided much greater profits than any other company ever did. This success determined the states, when they renewed the charter in 1746, to demand 75000 livres † per ship, in lieu of the old duty. These terms were punctually complied with till 1755: then the directors, who were sensible of the advantages of their situation, endeavoured to render it permanent, by fixing on a firmer footing the transient association that had intrusted them with the management of their

* 98l. 8s. 9d.

† 3,281l. 5s.

affairs;

affairs; and their scheme was approved in a general assembly of the nation. It was not to be expected that the proprietors would so readily assent to a system that abridged them of their liberty, and was the more to be dreaded, as it had proved fatal to other companies. They were, however, allured by the prospect of a more fixt dividend, instead of one which had for some years varied to an incredible degree; a circumstance which was either contrived to make the project succeed, or was a natural consequence of the fluctuation of trade. They were finally determined by the indulgence the government shewed them, in taking no more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon tea and all other India goods which should be consumed within the kingdom, instead of 75,000 * livres which had been paid for six years upon every ship. This new regulation lasted till 1766, which was the time of the expiration of the charter granted twenty years before.

THEY had not deferred to that time the taking of proper measures for the renewal of the company. As early as the 7th of July 1762, a new charter was granted for twenty years longer. The conditions were more advantageous to the state, than were expected by those who had not attended to the profits of that trade. The company lent the government 1,500,000 livres † without interest, and 3,000,000 ‡ at six per cent. The proprietors, who advanced this money, were to be repaid gra-

* 2,281l. 5s.

† 65,625l.

‡ 131,250l.

dually out of the drawback of 112,500 livres*, which they engaged to pay for every ship they should send out. A duty of one fourth of the produce was laid on all such of their commodities as should be exported out of the kingdom; and such as were consumed at home were to pay the old duties, or such new ones as government should think proper to lay on them. This is the regulation that subsists ever since 1766.

THE company have fixed the center of their business at Gottenburgh, which is by far the most convenient port for that purpose. At first their stock varied from one voyage to another. It is generally believed, that in 1753 it was fixed at nine millions†, though but six‡ were laid down. Those, who are best informed, are of opinion that the last regulation has really brought in ten millions||; but we know nothing on this important point, except from conjecture, for it never was laid before the public. As the Swedes had but little share in this stock, it was judged necessary to conceal this circumstance; and it was therefore enacted, that any director, who should divulge the names of the proprietors, or the sums they had subscribed, should be suspended, or even deposed, and should forfeit for ever all the stock of which he was possessed. This mysterious conduct is still observed. Indeed the accounts of the company are regularly laid before twelve of the chief proprietors, who are chosen once in four years at a

* 4,921*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* † 393,750*l.* ‡ 262,500*l.* || 437,500*l.*

general meeting; but mercantile people will never consider this as a sufficient security; and will always think it strange, that a free state should have opened such a door for corruption. Secrecy, in politics, is like lying; it may preserve a state for a while, but finally ruins it. Both are only serviceable to bad men.

THOUGH the company met with some misfortunes, the dividend kept up to thirty-two per cent. upon an average. This whole profit was made upon sales that did not exceed six millions of livres * yearly. Eleven-twelfths of those goods have been exported; and what little the Swedes have consumed, they have paid for with their own commodities. The small value of the stock, and the few resources they had, would not admit of greater consumption, as will appear if we consider the following particulars.

THE extent of Sweden is 6900 leagues square, allowing, as is usual in that country, but ten and a half to a degree. A great part of it is covered with immense lakes. The soil, which is most commonly greasy clay, is harder to till than sandy ground, but it bears more. The prodigious snows that cover it, preserve and cherish the plants. Unfortunately the winters are so long, and the days so short, that there is but little time for the labours of the field. Besides, as the men are taller and stouter than in other countries, they require more substantial food, and in larger quantities.

Present
state of
Sweden.

FROM these reasons we should be apt to suspect, that the population never was very great in Sweden,

* 262,500 l.

though

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

though it has been called the *manufactory of human kind*. Probably the numerous bands that came from thence, and which, under the so-much-dreaded name of Goths and Vandals, ravaged and subdued so many regions of Europe, were only swarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a constant succession by the north of Asia. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that this vast country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. Some historical proofs, which were laid before the states at their last meeting, convinced them that, three hundred years ago, their country had more inhabitants than it has at present, though at that time they professed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monastic life and the celibacy of the clergy. It appears, from a very accurate account taken in 1760, by order of the government, that Sweden, exclusive of her German dominions which are inconsiderable, has actually but 2,383,113 subjects; and that, in this population, there are 1,127,938 men, and 1,256,175 women. By taking the mean term, this makes 345 inhabitants to a league square. The two extremes are Gothia which has 1248, and Lapland which has but two inhabitants to a league.

THE numbers would be greater in all the provinces, if they were not continually deserted by the natives, who frequently never return. There are men in all nations, who, either out of curiosity, or from a natural restlessness, and without any determinate object, are fond of going from one country to another; but this is only the
malady

malady of a few individuals, and cannot be considered as the general cause of a constant emigration. There is a natural propensity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondness for society, the ties of blood and of friendship, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that partiality we are so apt to contract for the place, the manners, and the way of life we are accustomed to; all these are, to a rational being, so many attachments to the land in which he was born and educated. They must be powerful motives that can determine him to break all these ties at once, and to prefer another country, where all will appear extraordinary and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power resides in the states composed of the several orders of the kingdom, even that of peasants, every one should be more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there must be some cause for them.

THE class of citizens most attached to the country, is that of the husbandmen. Agriculture was tolerably flourishing, till Gustavus Vasa prohibited the exportation of corn. Ever since that fatal edict, it has always degenerated; and the endeavours, used of late years to restore it, have not altogether had the desired effect. Government buys every year part of the corn that is wanted for home consumption; and this scarcity may last long, as it is very difficult to breed large quantities;

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

quantities of cattle. They must be foddered for nine months in the year; and men are wanting, to cut up and to house that quantity of fodder which the long winters require.

THE mines are not liable to the like inconveniences. They were long the chief support of the kingdom; but are since grown dependent on the English and Dutch, who have lent large sums to carry on the works. A better management has gradually freed them from this bondage. The silver mines annually bring in 4500 marks to the state; the copper-mines yield 8000 ingots, of which 5500 are exported; the iron mines yield 400,000 ingots, of which they export about 300,000. These last were easily increased, especially in the northern provinces, which abound with wood and water for the works, and where the long and severe winters are favourable to the transport. The states, held in 1765, forbade the opening of any more, though no reason of political oeconomy can be assigned for such a prohibition. It is probable, that it took its rise from the private and personal interest of some leading men in the diet. The manufactures have not been more encouraged than the mines.

TILL the happy revolution which restored the liberty of Sweden, the nation in general were clothed in foreign stuffs. At that memorable period, they were sensible how impossible it was to prevent this evil with their own wool, which was extremely coarse; ewes and rams were therefore sent from Spain and England, and by the precautions

precautions that have been taken, they have not much degenerated. As the flocks multiplied, the manufactures increased to that degree, that in 1763 they employed 45,000 hands. This progress has displeased some patriots, who thought it prejudicial to agriculture. In vain were they told, that the manufactures promoted the consumption of the productions of the land; that they multiplied cattle, and that the cattle fertilized the ground; that there were in the kingdom but eight or ten towns, at most, that deserved to be called so, and that their population, relative to that of the country, was but as one to twelve, which was not the case in any other country. These representations had no effect. The diet of 1765, from party spirit or ignorance, adopted the views of those who were inclined to encourage only the works of husbandry. To accomplish this, they have shackled industry with all the fetters they could devise. The consequence has been, that the artificers sought for employment in other places, especially in Russia, and that Sweden has at present no manufactures.

THEIR fisheries have not met with the same fate. The only one that deserves to be considered in a political view is the herring-fishery. It only began in 1740. Before that time, the herrings did not frequent the coasts of Sweden. They then came in shoals to the coast of Gottenburgh, and have never forsaken it since. Two hundred thousand barrels are annually exported,

VOL. II. O which,

which, at the rate of 20 livres * per barrel, amount to 4,000,000 of livres †. About 8000 barrels are sent over to the English islands in America. It is very surprising that the French, who have more slaves, and fewer means of providing for them, should never have encouraged the importation of so desirable an article,

THE Swedish nation was not yet possessed of the herring-fishery, when they prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, and the conveying their own from one harbour of the kingdom to another in foreign bottoms. That famous edict restored navigation, which had long since been destroyed by the calamities of war. Their flag, which was unknown every where, was now to be seen on all seas. Their seamen soon acquired skill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progress was growing too considerable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be more adviseable to keep to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of such foreign commodities as they wanted, and have nothing to do with mere freight. This system was warmly opposed. Some eminent statesmen were of opinion that, far from cramping this branch of industry, it ought to be encouraged, by abolishing every regulation that might tend to obstruct it. The exclusive right of passing the Sound was formerly appropriated to a few towns, distinguished by the name of *Staple*. All

* 17s. 6d.

† 175,000l.

the parts situated to the north of Stockholm or Abo, were obliged to send their commodities to one of these staples, and there to take in those of the Baltic, which they could have procured cheaper at first hand. Those odious distinctions, contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchants, still subsist to this day. The wisest speculators in political matters wished to see them abolished; that a more general competition might produce greater industry. But, whatever may be the wishes of the nation with regard to trade, no person is desirous of having the army augmented.

BEFORE the reign of Gustavus Vasa, every Swede was a soldier. Upon an emergency of the state, the husbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war by their incessant civil commotions. Government had but five hundred men in pay, who were always to hold themselves in readiness to march. In 1542, this small corps was increased to six thousand. The peasants, upon whom these troops were quartered, found the burden intolerable, and it was necessary to free them of it. For this purpose, the uncultivated lands were incorporated with those of the crown; and, when they were cleared, they were allotted to the defenders of their country. This excellent institution has been continued ever since. Military men are not shut up in garrisons, to lead a life of idleness, as they are in other countries. From the general to the common soldier, every one has a house which he lives in, and a spot of ground of his

own which he improves. The extent and value of the land is proportionable to his rank in the army. This possession, which they hold from the crown, is called *Boftell*, and is never granted but in the domains belonging to government. The army now consists of eight regiments of horse, three regiments of dragoons, two regiments of hussars, and twenty-one regiments of national infantry, that are paid in the above manner; and ten regiments of foreign troops, who are paid in money, and disposed of in the provinces, and in the fortresses beyond the seas: all these forces together amount to 50,000 men. This army is increased to 84,000 men, by the addition of 34,000 soldiers, who are kept in reserve, and have likewise their *Boftells*, and by their institution are destined to supply the place of those who die among the national infantry, are lost, or taken prisoners. Twenty ships of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates, and a few galleys, complete the forces of the republic.

To support these forces, the state has only a revenue of eighteen millions of livres *, which arises from a land-tax, the returns of the customs, duties upon copper, iron, and stamped paper, a poll-tax, and a free gift. This is a very small sum for the expences of war, and the necessities of government; and yet it must also answer for the payment of debts.

THESE debts amounted to 7,500,000 livres †, when Charles XI. came to the crown. That

* 787,500L.

† 328,125L.

prince,

prince, who was an œconomist in a manner becoming a sovereign, paid them off. He did more than this, for he redeemed several of the domains conquered in Germany, which had been alienated to powerful neighbours. He likewise redeemed the crown jewels, upon which considerable sums had been borrowed in Holland. He fortified the frontier towns, succoured his allies, and often fitted out squadrons to maintain his superiority on the Baltic. The events subsequent to his death once more plunged the nation into its former confusion, which has continued increasing ever since, so that the government was in debt 82,500,000 livres *, for which they paid four and a half per cent. interest. Of this capital, eight millions † are the property of foreigners, five millions ‡ belong to a sinking fund, established to pay off the debts contracted by Charles XII. a million and a half § to some communities, twelve millions and a half || to private persons in Sweden, and fifty-five millions ** to the bank. The best calculators pretend that this bank, which belongs solely to the state, and is only to be at their disposal by the nation in a general assembly, has got as much by lending its paper currency to private persons, upon moveable and immoveable effects, as the government owes it. In that case, the republic in fact owes but one-third of the debt, for which it pays interest, for the sake of supporting public credit.

THIS credit is the more necessary, as there does not, since the last German war, remain two mil-

* 3,609,375 l.
§ 65,625 l.

† 350,000 l.
|| 546,875 l.

‡ 218,750 l.
** 2,406,250 l.

O 3

lions

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

lions * of specie in circulation all over the kingdom. Paper currency is employed on all occasions. As those who are entrusted with the management of the paper credit are sworn to keep every thing relative to it a profound secret, the quantity cannot be exactly ascertained; but, from the informations of the most accurate observers, we may venture to affirm, that the sum total of bank notes amounts to no less than seventy-seven millions †.

POVERTY was not, however, the greatest evil under which Sweden laboured; she was threatened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. Private interest, which had taken place of public spirit, filled the court, the senate, and all orders of the republic, with distrust. All bodies of men were bent upon each other's destruction with unparalleled inveteracy. When the means were wanting at home, they were sought for from abroad; and a man was not ashamed to conspire in some measure with foreigners against his own country.

THE unhappy situation of a state, apparently free, kept up that slavish disposition, which degrades most of the European nations; they gloried in their chains, when they beheld the sufferings of a people who had shaken off theirs. No one would be convinced that the Swedes had gone from one extreme to another; that, to avoid the mischief of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confusions of anarchy. The

* 87,500 l.

† 33368,750 l.

laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with those of society, and the prerogatives it ought to enjoy for the common safety of its members.

In that fatal crisis, it was expedient for the Swedes to entrust the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power sufficient to inquire into the abuses of the state, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greatest act of sovereignty a people can exercise; and it is not losing their liberty, to commit it to the custody of a guardian in whom they can confide, while they watch over the use he makes of the power delegated to him.

SUCH a resolution would have raised the Swedes to the greatest glory and happiness, and have excited a general opinion of their understanding and wisdom; whereas, by declining so necessary a measure, they have compelled the sovereign to seize upon the supreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms; and his subjects have no other right left, but such as his moderation would not suffer him to deprive them of.

THIS event is too recent to allow us to entertain our readers with an account of it; posterity must be left to judge of it. Let us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the King of Prussia.

THIS prince, in his younger years, wisely preferred the advantage of treasuring up knowledge, to the usual pleasures of his age, and the luxurious idleness of courts. An intercourse with

The king of Prussia forms an East India company at Embden.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

the greatest men of his time, joined to the spirit of observation, insensibly ripened his genius, which was naturally active and eager for improvement. Neither flattery nor opposition could ever divert him from the deep reflections he was engaged in. He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign in the early part of his life. It was foretold, on his accession to the crown, that his ministers would be no more than his secretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de camp. Some fortunate circumstances afforded him an opportunity of displaying to the whole world the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickness peculiar to himself, Frederic, instantly discovering the plan it was his interest to pursue, attacked a power by which his ancestors had been held in slavery. He obtained the victory in five engagements against that power, deprived it of its best provinces, and concluded a peace with the same wisdom that he had begun the war.

THOUGH his wars were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aspired to gain the admiration of those very people whom he had struck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional lustre to his name. He reformed the abuses in the courts of judicature, and dictated himself the wisest laws. A plain and invariable order was established in every part of government. As he was convinced that the authority of a sovereign is a common benefit

benefit to all his subjects, a protection which all should equally partake of, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his person, and of writing to him. Every instant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amusements were made useful to them. His writings on history, morality, and politics, abounded with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound and instructive ideas. He was considering of the means of enriching his dominions, when some fortunate event put him in possession of East Frieland in the year 1744.

EMBDEN, the capital of this little province, was reckoned, two centuries ago, one of the best ports in Europe. The English, compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the center of their connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, though in vain, to appropriate it to themselves, till it so strongly excited their jealousy, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every respect fit to become the staple of a great trade. The distance of this little country from the bulk of the Prussian forces might be attended with some inconveniences; but Frederic expected that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this persuasion, he established an East India company at Embden in 1750.

THE capital of this new society was 3,900,000 livres *, chiefly subscribed by the English and Dutch, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions

* 170,625 l.

of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, on paying three per cent. to the sovereign, upon every sale they should make. The event did not answer their expectation; six ships, sent successively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of ten per cent. in seven years. Another company, formed soon after in the same place for Bengal, was still more unsuccessful. They never attempted more than two expeditions; and the only return they had was a law-suit, which probably will never be determined. At the breaking-out of the last war, both these companies were abolished.

THIS has been the only check the king of Prussia's greatness has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of contemporaries; because they are not at a sufficient distance. Princes are of all men those we can least hope to be acquainted with. Fame seldom speaks of them without prejudice. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of servile flattery, or unjust envy. The clamours of the various interests and opinions, that are in perpetual agitation around them, confound or suspend the judgement of the wisest men.

YET, if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we should say of Frederic, that he was able to extricate himself from the schemes of all Europe combined against him; that to the greatness and boldness of his enterprizes, he joined the most

impenetrable secrecy in the execution of them; that he introduced a total change in the art of war, which before his time was thought to have attained its highest degree of perfection; that he shewed a fortitude scarcely to be paralleled in history; that he turned his very mistakes to better advantage than others do their successes; that all mankind were either lost in silent admiration of his actions, or could not sufficiently extol them; and that he reflected as much lustre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their sovereign.

THIS prince always appears formidable. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of seventy millions*; a treasure of more than two hundred†; an army of a hundred and fourscore thousand men: all this must secure his tranquillity. Unfortunately it is not so beneficial to his subjects as it was formerly. He still leaves the management of the coin to the Jews, a circumstance which has occasioned the greatest confusion. He has done nothing for the relief of the richest merchants in his dominions, who have been ruined by his schemes. He has taken the most considerable manufactures into his own hands. His dominions are full of monopolies, which are the bane of all industry. His people, who idolized him, have been given up to a set of foreign plunderers. This conduct has occasioned such distrust both at home and abroad, that we may

* 3,062,500*l*.† 8,750,000*l*.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

venture to affirm, that all endeavours to restore the Embden company will prove ineffectual.

O FREDERIC! thou didst receive from Nature a bold and lively imagination, an unbounded desire of knowledge, a propensity to an active life, and a strength of constitution to support the fatigues of it. Thine earlier years were devoted to the study of government, policy, and legislation. At the view of thy first exploits, mankind, groaning under general oppression and slavery, seemed to find some comfort in their misfortunes, from the expectation that thou wouldst be their avenger. They foretold thy successes, and implored a previous blessing upon them; and Europe distinguished thee by the title of king and philosopher.

WHEN thou didst first appear in the field, all nations were astonished at the rapidity of thy marches, at the skill displayed in thy encampments, and at the excellent disposition thou didst make of thine army in battle. The strict discipline in which thy troops were trained, excited universal admiration, and insured them victory: all extolled that mechanical subordination which of several armies makes but one body, whose motions, being all governed by one single impulse, exert their power at once towards the same object. Philosophers themselves, prejudiced by the hopes thou hadst raised in them, and proud to see a friend of the arts and of mankind invested with regal dignity, rejoiced perhaps at thy victories, though obtained at the expence

pence of so much blood; and they considered thee as a model for military kings.

BOOK
V.
}

BUT there is still a more glorious title; that of a patriot king. This is a title never given to those princes, who, making no distinction between truth and error, justice and partiality, good and evil, consider the principles of morality merely as metaphysical speculations, and imagine that human reason is swayed entirely by interest. If the love of glory were extinct in thy breast; if the powers of thy soul, exhausted by thy great exploits, had lost their force and energy; if the childish passions of old age had reduced thee to a level with the generality of kings; what would then become of thy glory? what would become of those praises which fame, and the immortal testimony of literature and the arts, have bestowed upon thee? But let us hope that thy reign and thy life will not appear problematical in history. Let thine heart again be opened to those noble and virtuous sentiments that were the delight of thy younger days. Let the latter years of thy life be employed in promoting the felicity of thy people. Let succeeding generations experience the effects of that happiness thou shalt bestow upon the present. The power of Prussia is the work of thy genius; it has been formed, and it must be supported by thee. It must be adapted to the state whose glory thou hast raised.

LET those numberless treasures that are buried in thy coffers circulate again, and give new

life.

life to the state: let thy private possessions, which a sudden change of fortune may depriye thee of, be hereafter only supported upon the basis of the national riches, which never can fail: let thy subjects, bending under the intolerable yoke of a severe and arbitrary government, find in thee the affections of a parent, instead of the vexations of an oppressor: let exorbitant taxes upon individuals and upon articles of consumption no longer obstruct the advancement of agriculture and industry: let the inhabitants of the country recovered from a state of slavery, and those of the towns becoming perfectly free, pass their lives agreeably to their inclinations and respective powers. Thus shalt thou give stability to the empire which thy brilliant talents have extended, and rendered illustrious; thus shall thy name be inserted in the respectable but small list of patriot kings,

LET thy virtues carry thee still further, and induce thee to procure the blessing of tranquillity to the earth. Let the influence of thy mediation, and the power of thine arms, compel all turbulent and restless nations to accept of peace. The universe is the country of a great man; it is the stage suited to the display of thy abilities: mayst thou become the benefactor of all mankind!—

No greatness, no felicity, can exist in a monarchy without the influence of the sovereign; but it does not solely depend upon the monarch to do every thing that is calculated to procure

cure the happiness of his people. He often meets with powerful obstacles in the prejudices, the character, and the dispositions of his subjects. These indeed may undoubtedly be corrected; but, till this change has been produced in Spain, we shall consider them as the principal cause of the little degree of success that has attended the projects so often formed, of rendering the trade to the Philippine islands prosperous.

THE Philippines, formerly known by the name of the Manillas, form an immense Archipelago to the east of Asia. The mountains in these islands are peopled with savages, who seem to be the oldest inhabitants of the country. There appears to be some analogy between their language and that of Malabar, whence it has been suspected that they might possibly have come from that pleasant region of India. Their life is entirely the same as that of beasts; they have no settled habitation, and feed upon the fruits and roots they find in the woods; and, when they have exhausted one spot, they go and feed upon another. All endeavours to reduce them to subjection have proved ineffectual, because nothing is more difficult than to subdue a wandering nation.

Settlement
of the
Spaniards
in the
Philippine
islands,

THE plains from which they have been driven, have been successively inhabited by colonies from Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Macassar, Malacca, the Moluccas, and Arabia. The manners, religion, and government, of these strangers, evidently distinguish their several origins,

MAGELLAN

MAGELLAN was the first European who discovered these islands. Upon some discontent, he left Portugal his native country, and entered into the service of the emperor Charles V. and passing the streights that now bear his name, he arrived at the Manillas in 1521. He unfortunately died there; but probably this would not have prevented the good consequences of his voyage, had they not been interrupted by the following occurrences.

IN the fifteenth century, whilst the Portuguese were beginning to make voyages to the East Indies, and endeavouring to monopolize the trade of spices, and of manufactures which had been in constant request among civilized nations; the Spaniards, by the discovery of America, were securing greater treasures than imagination could form any conception of. Though both nations were pursuing their respective views of aggrandizement in far distant regions, they might probably interfere with each other; and their mutual antipathy would have made such an event dangerous. To prevent this, Pope Alexander VI. fixed their respective claims in 1493, in consequence of that universal and ridiculous power which the pontiffs had assumed for several centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of two nations equally superstitious still kept up, that they might plead the excuse of religion for their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that should be discovered to the west of a meridian taken a hundred leagues from the
Azores,

Azores, and to Portugal whatever land they might conquer to the east of that meridian. In process of time, the two powers agreed to remove the line of separation two hundred and fifty leagues further to the west, as a means of securing their tranquillity. The court of Rome was not sufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth, to know, that, as the Spaniards advanced to the west, and the Portuguese to the east, they must meet at last. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth.

THE Portuguese, who, though seamen themselves, had no idea that it was possible to sail to India any other way than by the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly surprized to see the Spaniards come thither by the South Sea. They were apprehensive for the Moluccas, upon which their rivals pretended to have a claim, as likewise upon the Manillas. The court of Lisbon was determined to run any risque rather than part with the spice trade. However, before they ventured to quarrel with the only power whose naval strength was then formidable, they thought it advisable to try the method of negotiation. They succeeded better than they expected. Charles V. who was frequently in want of money to carry on his expeditions, consented, for the sum of 3,420,000 livres *, to suspend the armament against the Moluccas, till the respective claims should be adjusted. He even engaged, in case the decision was favourable, not to

* 149,625 l.

make any advantage of it till he had paid the money he had received. After this accommodation, the Spanish monarch was so intent upon his aggrandizement in Europe and America, that he totally neglected the East Indies.

IN 1564, Philip II. resumed the project of conquering the Manillas. The execution was committed to Michael Lopez de l'Egaspe. He formed a permanent establishment at Luçonia, the chief of those islands, and laid the foundation of some settlements in the adjacent parts, particularly in Sibü, where Magellan had landed. His successors would probably have made an entire conquest of this archipelago, if they had been better supported, or even if they had not been under a necessity of employing the few troops they had in defending the Portuguese in the Moluccas. The patience of the Dutch triumphed over such weak and tardy efforts; which only served to prevent for a time those rich possessions from falling into their hands; and which left the power that Spain had over the Manillas (then called Philippines) in a very languid state, as it has continued ever since.

Present
state of
the Phi-
lippine
islands.

IN these islands, the number of Spaniards does not exceed three thousand: there are three times as many Mestees. They are all equally employed to keep in subjection upwards of one million three hundred and sixty thousand Indians, who were subdued at the time the computation was made in 1752. Most of them are Christians, and all pay a tax of two livres thirteen sous*.

* 2s. 3d.

They

They are dispersed in nine islands, and distributed into twenty departments, twelve of which are in the island of Luçon. The capital, which was always called Manilla, is situated at the mouth of a large river, at the bottom of a bay which is thirty leagues in circumference. L'Egafpe thought this a fit place to be the center of the power he wanted to establish, and accordingly made it the seat of government and of trade. Gomez Perez de las Marignas inclosed it with walls, and built fort St. James in 1590. As this harbour will admit none but small ships, it was afterwards found expedient to fortify Cavite, which is distant but three leagues, and is now the harbour of Manilla. It is semicircular, and the ships are on all sides sheltered from the south winds, but exposed to those from the north, unless they anchor very close to the shore. Three or four hundred Indians were formerly employed in the docks, which have been so much increased within these few years, that men of war are now built there for Europe.

THE settlement is subject to a governor, whose office continues eight years, but who is subordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, disposes of all civil and military employments, and may grant lands to the soldiers, and even erect them into fiefs. This power, though somewhat balanced by the influence which the clergy and the inquisition assume in all the Spanish settlements abroad, has been found so dangerous, that many expedients have been de-

vised to check its exorbitancy. The most effectual of these expedients is that by which it is decreed, that the conduct of a governor shall be arraigned even after his death; and that, when a governor is recalled, he shall not quit the place till his administration has been inquired into. Every individual is at liberty to complain; and, if he has suffered any wrong, he is to be indemnified at the cost of the delinquent, who is likewise condemned to pay a fine to the sovereign, for having brought an odium upon him. At the time this wise institution was made, it was observed with such rigour, that, when accusations were numerous and weighty against the governor, he was imprisoned. Several died in confinement; and others were taken out, only with a design to inflict severe punishments upon them. But corruption has since insinuated itself; and the person who succeeds is commonly influenced either by considerable bribes, or because he intends to practise the same extortions himself, to palliate those of his predecessor.

THIS collusion has brought on a settled system of oppression. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been lessened in passing through the hands that were appointed to collect it; extravagant duties have made trade degenerate into smuggling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government; and some governors have carried their tyranny to such atrocious lengths, as to determine the quantity of corn that the fields were

to produce, and to oblige the farmers to bring it in; and not only to wait for the payment as long a time as their oppressive masters should think proper, but also to receive it in whatever manner it could be given to them. This tyranny has determined vast numbers of Indians to forsake the Philippines, or to take refuge in the inaccessible parts of those islands. Several millions are said to have perished through ill usage; and it is impossible to conjecture the number of those whose very existence has been prevented by the neglect of cultivation, and consequently the want of food. The few who have escaped all these calamities, have only found a refuge by living in a state of obscurity and wretchedness. For these two centuries past some governors have attempted to put an end to these enormities; but their endeavours have proved ineffectual, because the abuses were too inveterate to yield to a transient and subordinate authority. Nothing less than the supreme power of the court of Madrid could restrain the spirit of universal rapaciousness; but this power has never exerted itself for such a purpose. This shameful neglect is the true cause why the Philippine islands have never been civilized, and have neither policy nor trade. Their name would scarcely be known, were it not for their connections with Mexico.

Those connections, which have subsisted ever since the first settlement of the Spaniards in the East and West Indies, consist only in conveying

the produce and merchandise of Asia to America by the South Sea. None of the articles that compose these rich cargoes are the produce either of the ground or of the manufactures of those islands. Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia. The Chinese bring them silks; and the English or the French supply them with white linens and printed calicoes from Bengal and Coromandel. All the eastern nations may freely trade there; but the Europeans must conceal their flag. They would not be admitted without this precaution, which, however, is but a mere ceremony. From whatever port the goods have been brought, they must come in before the departure of the galleons. If they should arrive later, they could not be disposed of, or must be sold at a loss to merchants, who stow them in warehouses till the next voyage. The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piastres, and partly in cowries, which are not current in Africa, but will pass every where on the banks of the Ganges.

THE people of this island seldom transact business immediately with the Spaniards. Most of them are so disgusted with the fatigues of trade, that they place all their money in the hands of the Chinese, who enrich themselves at their cost. If these agents, the most active in Asia, had been compelled to be baptized or to quit the country, as the court of Madrid had ordered in 1750, all business would have been thrown into the utmost confusion.

SOME

SOME politicians think this plan would not be detrimental; an opinion that has been long entertained. The Philippines had but just opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the interest of the mother-country. Philip II. and his successors constantly rejected that proposal, which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both these cities imagined, and it is rather surprising that the idea did not occur sooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to have a direct concern with the trade of Asia, and that the possessions they had in those parts should be made the center of their traffic. In vain it was urged, that as India affords silks and cottons superior to those of Europe, both in workmanship and colouring, and at a much cheaper price, the national manufactures would be ruined. This objection might have its weight with regard to some nations; but appeared altogether frivolous, considering the situation of Spain.

THE Spaniards, indeed, use none but foreign stuffs and linen, either for wearing-apparel or furniture. Those continual demands must necessarily increase the industry, the wealth, the population, and strength of their neighbours, who avail themselves of these advantages, to keep that nation which supplies them in a state of dependence. It would surely be acting with more wisdom and dignity, were they to use the Indian manufactures.

factures. They would be preferable, both in point of œconomy and elegance, and would lessen that competition which must prove fatal to them in the end.

How much
the Philip-
pines
might be
improved
by indus-
try.

THE inconveniences, which usually attend new undertakings, are here previously obviated. The islands which Spain possesses lie between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Macassar, and the Moluccas, and are favourably situated for forming connections with those several kingdoms. If they are too far distant from Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, effectually to protect any settlements that might be formed there; on the other hand, they are so near several countries which the Europeans frequent, that they could easily exclude their enemies from those places in time of war. Besides, their distance from the continent secures them from the ravages that it is exposed to, and prevents them from being tempted to interfere in the divisions which arise there. This distance, however, does not prevent them from being sure of subsistence at home. It is true, the Philippines are subject to frequent earthquakes, and they have incessant rains from July to November; but all this does not diminish the fertility of the ground. No country in Asia abounds more with fish, corn, fruits, vegetables, cattle, sago, cocoa trees, and esculent plants of all kinds.

THESE islands afford even some commodities fit for the trade from one part of India to another, such as ebony, tobacco, wax, those birds nests that are in such estimation, pitch and tar,

a kind of white hemp fit for ropes and sails, plenty of excellent timber, cowries, pearls; and sugar, which may be cultivated to any quantity; and gold. There are incontestable proofs, that, in the earliest times the Spaniards sent over to America large quantities of gold found in the river by the natives of this country. If the quantity they now collect does not exceed twelve hundred weight in a year, this must be imputed to the tyranny of the Spaniards, who will not suffer them to reap the benefit of their own industry. A reasonable moderation would induce them to resume these labours, and to apply to others still more beneficial to Spain.

THE colony will then produce for exportation to Europe, alum, buffalo skins, cassia; the *Faba Sancti Ignatii*, a useful drug in physic; indigo; cocoa, which has been brought hither from Mexico, and succeeds very well; woods for dying, cotton, and bastard cinnamon, which will perhaps be improved, and which the Chinese were satisfied with, such as it was, before they frequented Batavia. Some travellers affirm, that the island of Mindanao, where it grows, formerly produced clove trees also. They add, that the sovereign of the island ordered them to be rooted up, saying he had better do it himself than be compelled to it by the Dutch. This anecdote looks very suspicious. It is certain, however, that the vicinity of the Moluccas affords opportunities for procuring with great facility the trees that bear nutmegs and cloves.

FOREIGN markets will furnish Spain with silks, calicoes, and other articles, of the produce of Asia, for their own consumption, and will sell them cheaper to the Spaniards than to their competitors. All other nations in Europe employ the specie they get from America to trade with in India. Before this specie can reach the place of its destination, it must have paid considerable duties, taken a prodigious compass, and have been exposed to great risks; whereas the Spaniards, by sending it directly from America to the Philippines, would save duties, time, and insurance; so that, by furnishing the same quantity of specie as the rival nations, they would in reality make their purchases at a cheaper rate.

EVEN the quantity of specie conveyed from one place to another might in time be diminished, if these islands were as much improved as they might be. For this purpose, the nations, who frequented these sea-ports before they were invaded by the Spaniards, should be recalled; and every method should be used, to obliterate from the memory of the Chinese the fate of those forty thousand subjects of their empire, who were settled in the Philippines, and were almost all inhumanly massacred, because they would not tamely submit to the horrid yoke that was laid on them. The Chinese would then desert Batavia, which is too far distant, and cause arts and agriculture to revive in these islands. Their example would soon be followed by many free traders of Europe, who are dispersed

perfed in various parts of India, and confider themfelves as victims to the monopoly of their refpective companies. The natives, excited to labour by the advantages infeparable from fuch a competition, would no longer remain in a ftate of indolence. They would be fond of a government that would ftudy to promote their happinefs; would chearfully fubmit to its laws, and in a fhort time would themfelves become Spaniards. If our conjectures are well founded, fuch a colony would be more profitable than a mere inactive fettlement, which devours part of the treafures of America. Such a revolution may eafily be brought about, and muft infallibly be haftened by eftablifhing a freedom of trade, an unlimited, civil, and religious liberty, and a perfect fecurity for the property of individuals.

THIS can never be the work of an exclusive company. For thefe two centuries paft, fince the Europeans have frequented the feas of Asia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable fpirit. In vain have fociety, morality, and politics, been improved amongft us; thofe diftant countries have only been witneffes of our rapaciousnefs, our reftleffnefs, and our tyranny. The mifchief we have done to other parts of the world has fometimes been compensated by the knowledge we have imparted to them, and the wife inftitutions we have eftablifhed amongft them: but the Indians have ftill continued under their former darknefs and defpotifm; and we have taken no pains to refcue them from thofe dread-

ful calamities. Had the several governments directed the steps of their free traders, it is probable that the love of glory would have been united to a passion for riches, and that some nations would have made attempts fit to render their names illustrious. Such noble and disinterested intentions could never be pursued by any company of merchants: who, being confined by the narrow views of present profit, have never employed their thoughts about the happiness of the people with whom they traded; a circumstance, which, being naturally expected, hath never been imputed to them as a crime.

How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, from which, perhaps, nothing great is at present to be expected, to shew a sensibility for the interests of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to shake off the fetters of prejudice, which have kept it in a state of infancy, notwithstanding its natural strength. Its subjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been happily preserved by their own indolence, and by the rapaciousness of their government. These people must necessarily be inclined to what is good; they are capable of knowing it, and no doubt would practise it, having all the means in their power from the possessions their conquests have given them in the richest countries of the universe. Their ships, sailing from their several ports, might either meet at the Canary islands,

islands, or separately proceed to their several destinations, and thus be the means of procuring happiness to the remotest parts of Asia. They might return from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but would go thither by the South Sea, where the sale of their cargoes would greatly increase their capitals. This advantage would secure to them a superiority over their competitors, who sail with false bills of lading, seldom carrying any thing but silver. They would meet with a fresh supply of provisions up the river Plata, if they should be in want of them. Those who were able to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even proceed to the island of Juan Fernandez.

THIS delightful island, which takes its name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a dislike to it after he had lived there some considerable time, is situated at 110 leagues distance from the continent of Chili. Its greatest length is but about five leagues, and the breadth not quite two. In this small spot, where the land is very mountainous and irregular, there is a clear sky, pure air, excellent water, and every vegetable that is deemed a specific against the scurvy. It has appeared from experience, that all sorts of European and American corn, fruit, and quadrupeds, will succeed there extremely well. The coasts abound with fish; and, besides all these advantages, there is also a good harbour, where ships are sheltered from every wind but the north, and even that
never

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

never blows so strongly as to be attended with any danger.

THESE conveniences have induced all the pirates, who have infested the coasts of Peru, to put in at Juan Fernandez. Anson, who went to the South Seas with more important projects, found there a comfortable and safe asylum. The Spaniards, at length convinced that the precaution they had taken to destroy the cattle they had placed there is insufficient to keep off their enemies, must build a fort on the island. That military post will become a useful settlement, if the court of Madrid will but attend to her own interest. It is needless to pursue this subject any further. The plan, which we have done nothing more than suggest, would evidently tend to promote the trade, the navigation, and the greatness of Spain. The connections that Russia keeps up with China by land, can never acquire the same degree of importance.

General
idea of
Tartary.

BETWEEN these two vast empires, whose greatness astonishes the imagination, there is an immense space, known in the earliest ages by the name of Scythia, and since by that of Tartary. This region, taken in its full extent, is bounded to the west by the Caspian sea and Persia; to the south by Persia, Indostan, the kingdoms of Arracan and Ava, China, and Corea; to the east by the Pacific ocean; and to the north by the Frozen ocean. One part of these vast deserts is subject to the Chinese empire; another is under

der the dominion of Russia ; the third is independent, and is called Kharism, and Greater and Less Bucharìa.

BOOK
V.

THE inhabitants of these celebrated regions have always lived by hunting and fishing, and upon the milk of their flocks ; and have ever had an equal aversion for living in cities, a sedentary life, and for husbandry. Their origin and their customs, so far as we are acquainted with them, are equally antient, for the former could never be traced on account of their sequestered and wandering way of life. They have lived in the same manner as their fore-fathers did ; and, if we look back to the remotest antiquity, we shall find a very striking resemblance between the men of the earliest ages, and the Tartars of the present time.

THESE people have in general been followers of the great Lama, who resides at Putali, a town situated in a district which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. This extensive region, where mountains rise above one another, is called Bëutan by the inhabitants of Indostan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tsanli by the Chinese, Lassa by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans.

THEIR religion appears, from monuments of undoubted authority, to be of above three thousand years standing, and is founded on the existence of a Supreme Being, and the sublimest principles of morality.

It has been generally imagined, that the followers of the Lama believe him to be immortal; that, in order to maintain the deception, this divinity never appears but to a few favourites; that, when he receives the adoration of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light shews rather a faint representation, than an exact resemblance of that living god; that, when he dies, another priest is substituted in his stead, as nearly of the same size and figure as possible; and that, by means of these precautions, the delusion is kept up, even on the very spot where the farce is acted; and much more, without doubt, in the minds of believers who are further removed from it.

A SAGACIOUS philosopher has lately removed this prejudice. It is true, the great Lamas seldom shew themselves, the better to maintain that veneration they have inspired for their person and their mysteries; but they give audience to ambassadors, and admit princes who come to visit them. But if their person is seldom to be seen, except on some important occasions, or on great festivals, their picture is always in full view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali.

WHAT has given rise to the fable of the immortality of the Lamas is, that it is a tenet of their faith, that the holy spirit, which has animated one of these pontiffs, immediately upon his death passes into the body of him who is duly elected to succeed him. This transmigration of the divine spirit is perfectly consonant to the doctrine

of the metempsychosis, which has always been the established system in those parts.

THE religion of Lama made considerable progress in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe. It is professed all over Thibet and Mongalia; is almost universal in Greater and Less Bucharía, and several provinces of Tartary; and has some followers in the kingdom of Caffimere in India, and in China.

THIS is the only worship that can boast of such remote antiquity, without any mixture of other systems. The religion of the Chinese has been frequently adulterated by the introduction of foreign deities and superstitions; which have been adapted to the taste of the lower class of people. The Jews have seen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demolished. Alexander and Mohammed used their utmost endeavours to extinguish the sacred fire of the Gaurá. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great measure diminished the worshippers of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, have ever been able to shake the divine power of the great Lama.

THIS stability and perpetuity must be peculiar to those religions that have a fixed system, a well-regulated ecclesiastical hierarchy, and a supreme head, who by his authority supports those doctrines in their primitive state, by condemning all new opinions, which pride might be tempted to introduce, and credulity to adopt. The Lamas themselves confess that they are no gods; but they pretend to represent the divinity, and to have re-

ceived a power from heaven to decide ultimately on whatever relates to public worship. Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to spiritual matters; but all civil matters, held profane by them, they consider as inconsistent with their dignity, and therefore commit the care of government to persons whom they judge to be worthy of their confidence. This has successively occasioned the loss of several provinces of their vast dominions, which have fallen a prey to their governors. The great Lama, who formerly was absolute master of all Thibet, now possesses but a small part of it.

THE religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour. It was to oppose their incursions into China, that, three hundred years before the christian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Hoambo to the sea of Kamtschatka; which has a terrace running all along the top of it, and is flanked in different parts with large towers, after the antient manner of fortifying. Such a monument shews that there must have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire: but at the same time it seems to indicate that there was a want of prowess and military skill. If the Chinese had been men of courage, they would themselves have attacked the roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-disciplined armies; if they had been skilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines five hundred leagues long could not be defended in every part, and that, if they were broken but in
one

one place, all the rest of the fortification would become useless.

THE inroads, indeed, of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth century. At that period, the empire was conquered by those barbarians, under the command of Gingis-Khan. This foreign power was not destroyed till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a slave to his ministers.

WHEN the Tartars were expelled from the conquests they had made, they did not adopt the laws and government of China. When they repassed the great wall, they relapsed into barbarism, and lived in their deserts in as uncivilized a state as they had done before. They united, however, with the few who had continued in their roving way of life, and formed several hords, which insensibly became populous, and in process of time incorporated into that of the Manchews. Their union inspired them again with the project of invading China, which was torn with domestic dissensions. The discontented parties were then so numerous, that they had no less than eight different armies under the command of as many chiefs. In this confusion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, seized upon the capital in 1644, and soon after upon the whole kingdom.

THIS revolution did not seem so much to subdue China, as to add to its extent, by the accession of a great part of Tartary. Soon after this, China was further enlarged by the submission of the

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Mogul Tartars, celebrated for having founded most of the thrones in Asia, and in particular that of Indostan.

THE conquerors submitted to the laws of the people they had conquered, and exchanged their own customs and manners for those of their slaves. This has been alledged as a proof of the wisdom of the Chinese government ; but it seems to be no more than a natural consequence of this plain and simple principle, that the less number must yield to the greater. The Tartars, in the most populous empire upon earth, were not in the proportion of one to ten thousand ; so that, to bring about a change of manners and government, one Tartar must have prevailed over ten thousand Chinese, which is hardly possible in the nature of things. We have sufficient proofs of the excellence of the Chinese administration, without having recourse to this. Besides, those Tartars had no settled customs and manners ; no wonder, then, if they adopted indiscriminately institutions they found in China. This revolution was scarce compleated, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, that might prove a formidable one.

Contentions of the Russians and Chinese in Tartary.

THE Russians, who towards the latter end of the sixteenth century had conquered the uncultivated plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a number of deserts to the river Amour, which led them to the eastern sea, and as far as Selenga, which brought them on the confines of China, a country so highly extolled for its riches.

THE

THE Chinese were apprehensive that the incursions of the Russians might in time give them some disturbance; and they erected some forts to restrain this neighbouring power, whose ambition began to excite their jealousy. Sharp contests then arose between the two nations concerning their boundaries. Skirmishes were frequent between the parties engaged in the pursuits of the chase, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiary of the two courts found means to bring about a reconciliation in 1689; the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negotiation, 300 leagues from the great wall. This was the first treaty the Chinese had ever been concerned in since the foundation of their empire, and it brought on a new arrangement. They granted the Russians the liberty of sending a caravan every year to Peking, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners with the utmost precaution. It was easily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chinese, did not adopt their political maxims.

THIS liberty granted to the Russians did not inspire them with moderation. They persisted in their usurpations, and built a city thirty leagues beyond the stipulated limits, which they called Albassinskoi. The Chinese, having in vain complained of this encroachment, at last determined to avenge themselves in 1715. As the Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and could not spare troops to defend the extremities of Tartary, the place was taken after a siege of three years.

The Russians obtain leave to send a caravan to China.

THE court of Peterburgh was prudent enough not to give way to a fruitless resentment. They sent a minister to Pekin in 1719, with instructions to renew the trade that had been lost amidst the late disturbances. The negotiation succeeded; but the caravan of 1721 not being conducted with more caution than the former, it was agreed that for the future no transactions should be carried on between the two nations except upon the frontiers. Fresh contentions have again interrupted this intercourse, and they now carry on only a contraband trade; even that is inconsiderable, but it is thought the Russians are endeavouring to increase it.

THE advantages they will derive from it are sufficient to induce them to surmount all the difficulties inseparable from such an undertaking. They are the only nation in Europe that can trade with the Chinese without money, and barter their own commodities for those of China. With their rich and choice furs, they will always purchase what the Chinese can furnish to great part of the globe. Independent of the commodities they want for their own consumption, they may establish a commerce in the articles of tea and rhubarb. It would be both prudent and easy to re-export these two articles, because, when brought over by land, they will be preserved in higher perfection than they can possibly be in a voyage over those immense seas, which every commodity, imported from such remote parts of Asia, must necessarily pass. But to turn this trade to any advantage, it must be conducted

ducted upon other principles than have hitherto been followed.

BOOK
V.

FORMERLY a caravan went every year from Petersburg, traversed immense deserts, and was met on the frontiers of China by some hundreds of soldiers, who escorted it to the capital of the empire. There all who belonged to it were shut up in a caravansera, to wait till the merchants should offer them the refuse of their warehouses. The traffic being thus completed, the caravan returned to Russia, and arrived at Petersburg three years after it had set out from thence.

IN the ordinary course of things, the indifferent merchandise brought by the caravan would have been of very little value ; but as this trade was carried on for the court, and that the goods were always sold under the immediate inspection of the sovereign, commodities of the worst kind acquired a value. Being admitted to this kind of fair, was a privilege which the monarch seldom granted but to his favourites. All were desirous of approving themselves worthy of this distinction, and the way to succeed was by over-bidding each other without discretion, as each was ambitious that his name should appear upon the list of the buyers. Notwithstanding this shameful emulation, what was put up to sale was so trifling, that the produce, deducting the consumption of the court, never amounted to 100,000 crowns *. To make this traffic of greater consequence, it should be intrusted to the skill, activity, and management, of private persons.

* 13,125 l.

Projects of
the Russian
court to
trade to
India
through
Independent Tar-
tary.

THIS method should have been adopted, if a communication could have been established between Siberia and India by Independent Tartary, as Peter the first had designed. That great prince, whose mind was always engaged in some useful project, was desirous of opening that communication by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkestan; and in 1719 he sent 2500 men in order to make himself master of that river.

THERE was no such river to be found; its waters had been turned off, and conveyed through several channels to the lake Atall. This had been done by the Usbeck Tartars, who had taken umbrage at the repeated observations they had seen making. The Russians determined therefore to return to Astracan. The court of Petersburg was obliged to relinquish the project, and remain satisfied with the intercourse already formed with India by the Caspian sea.

Inter-
course be-
tween
Russia and
India by
the Cas-
pian sea.

THIS was, in the remotest ages, the track by which the north and south communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immense lake, which are at present very much depopulated, extremely poor, and in a savage estate, afford to intelligent minds evident proofs of former splendor. Coins of the antient Kaliphs are daily discovered there. These monuments, with others equally authentic, would seem to favour the account of some Indians having been shipwrecked on the coasts of the Elbe in the reign of Augustus, which has always been considered as fabulous, notwithstanding the concurrent testimony of cotemporary writers who related the fact. It is inconceivable

ceivable how any inhabitants of India could sail on the Germanic seas; but, as Voltaire observes, it was not more wonderful to see an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to see a Roman make his way into India through Arabia. The Indians went into Persia, where they embarked on the Hircanian sea, sailed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permian by the Kama, and from thence might embark on the northern sea or on the Baltic. Men of enterprising genius have appeared in all ages.

WHATEVER may be thought of these conjectures, the English had no sooner discovered Archangel, about the middle of the sixteenth century, and settled a commerce with Russia, than they formed the project of opening a way into Persia by the Wolga and the Caspian sea, which would be much easier and shorter than that of the Portuguese, who were obliged to sail round Africa and part of Asia, to get into the gulph of Persia. A further inducement to attempt it was, that the northern parts of Persia, bordering upon the Caspian sea, produce much richer commodities than the southern. The silks of Chirvan, Mazanderan, and more especially Gilan, are the best in all the east, and might be employed with advantage in any manufactures. But the trade of the English was not yet sufficiently confirmed, to encounter the difficulties that must attend so vast and so complicated an undertaking.

SOME years after, a duke of Holstein, who had established some silk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by these difficulties. He wanted

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

to get the raw silk from Persia, and sent ambassadors thither, who lost their lives on the Caspian sea.

WHEN the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they also wished to procure Persian silks by way of Russia; but their fatal passion for conquest made them forget this project, as well as many others that had been suggested by men of understanding, for the welfare of that great nation.

PETER I. guided by his own genius, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be sensible at last, that his subjects were the people who ought to enrich themselves by the production of Persia, and in time that of India. Accordingly in 1722, at the first beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince seized upon the fertile regions bordering on the Caspian sea. The heat of the climate, the dampness of the soil, and the malignancy of the air, destroyed the troops that were left to defend those conquests. Russia, however, did not resolve to relinquish the provinces she had usurped, till she found in the year 1736 that Kouli Khan, who had conquered the Turks, could compel her to restore them.

THE court of Petersburg laid aside all thoughts of carrying on any commerce with that part of the world, when an Englishman of the name of Elton laid a scheme, in 1741, for putting his country in possession of it. This enterprising man was in the service of Russia: his proposal was, to convey English woollen cloths, by way of the Wolga

Volga and the Caspian sea, to Persia, to the north of Indostan, and to the greatest part of Tartary. In consequence of this traffic, he was to receive, in exchange, gold, and such commodities as the Armenians sold at an extravagant price, being masters of all the inland trade of Asia. This project was warmly adopted by the English company in Muscovy, and favoured by the Russian ministry.

BUT the English adventurer had scarce begun to put it in execution, when Kouli Khan, who wanted bold and active men to second his ambition, found means to entice him into his service, and by his assistance to make himself master of the Caspian sea. The court of Petersburg, exasperated at this treachery, revoked in 1746 all the privileges they had granted; but this was an ineffectual remedy for so great an evil. The untimely death of the Persian tyrant was much more likely to bring matters into their former state.

THAT great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into greater anarchy than ever, restored to the Russians the dominion over the Caspian Sea. This was a necessary prelude to the opening of a trade with Persia and India, but was not alone sufficient to ensure its success; which met with almost insuperable obstacles from the Armenians. An active nation, accustomed to the eastern manners, in possession of a large capital, extremely frugal in their expences, who had already formed connections from time immemorial, entered into the minutest details, and embraced the most comprehensive speculations:
such

such a nation was not easily to be supplanted. Nor did the court of Petersburg expect it, but wisely determined to allure a number of those artful, industrious, and wealthy people, to settle at Astracan. It is through their hands that all merchandise, coming from Asia to Russia by land, always did and still does pass. This traffic is very inconsiderable; and it will require time before it can be increased, unless some expedient can be found to dispose of the articles by re-exportation. To make this more evident, it will only be necessary to take a cursory view of the present state of Russia.

State of
the Russian
empire,
and the
means
necessary
to make it
flourish.

THIS empire, which, like all others, rose from small beginnings, is become, in process of time, the largest in the world. Its extent from east to west is 2200 leagues, and from south to north about 800.

MANY of the people of this vast empire never had any form of government, and have none to this day. Those who by violence, or from particular circumstances, have obtained the rule over the rest, have always been actuated by Asiatic principles, and have been oppressors or arbitrary tyrants. The only point, in which they have conformed to the customs of Europe, has been the institution of a peerage.

THESE are undoubtedly the chief causes which have prevented the increase of the human race in that immense country. By the survey taken in 1747, there appeared but 6,646,390 persons who paid the poll-tax; and in these were comprehended
all

all the males from the infant to the oldest man. Supposing the number of women to be equal to that of men, there will appear to be 13,292,780 slaves in Russia. To this calculation must be added the classes of men in the empire who are exempt from paying this shameful tax; the military, who amount to 200,000 men; the nobility and clergy, who are supposed to amount to the like number; and the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Livonia, computed at 1,200,000. So that the whole population of Russia does not exceed 14,892,780 persons of both sexes.

It would be needless, as it is impossible, to number the people who rove about those vast deserts. As these hords of Tartars, Siberians, Samoiedes, Laplanders, and Ostiaks, cannot contribute to the wealth, strength, or splendor of a state, they are to be reckoned of little or no consequence in the account.

THE population being small, the revenues of the empire cannot be considerable. When Peter I. came to the crown, the taxes brought-in but twenty-five millions *; he raised them to sixty-five †. Since his death they have not greatly increased; and yet the people are sinking under a burden which their strength, enervated by despotism, is unable to support.

EVERY circumstance seems to call upon Russia to provide a remedy against this want of population and wealth. The only effectual one is agriculture. It would be needless to encourage it in

* 1,093,750*L*.† 2,843,750*L*.

the northern provinces; nothing can thrive in those frozen deserts. The scattered inhabitants of this inhospitable climate will never be supplied with any kind of food and raiment except what they can procure from birds, fish, and wild beasts; nor will they ever have any thing besides these to pay their taxes with.

FURTHER from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aspect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation; yet throughout an immense extent of territory there are no marks of plenty, from the want of men and sufficient means for the cultivation of the land. The soil will become sufficiently fertile, if agriculture meets with reward and encouragement from the wisdom of government. The Ukraine deserves particular attention.

THAT spacious region, which has belonged to the Porte and to Poland, and is now a part of the Czar's dominions, is perhaps the most fruitful country in the known world. It supplies Russia with most of her home consumption, and articles of trade; and yet she does not receive the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The Cossacks, who inhabited that country, have almost all perished in destructive wars. Some attempts have been made to re-place them by Ostiaks and Samoiedes; but it has not been considered, that, in blending men so small and deformed with others of a tall, robust, and valiant race, the former would only serve to make the latter degenerate. It would be very easy and practicable to give encouragement to the Moldavians and Walachians

to settle there, as they profess the same religion as Russia, and consider it as the seat of the Greek empire.

Nothing would be more conducive to cultivation than the working of the mines. Some are to be met with in several provinces; but they are numerous in Siberia, though it is a low country, and the soil is moist and marshy. The iron that is dug out of these mines is better than in any other part of Russia, and equal to that of Sweden. The working of them would employ a number of men, and furnish excellent implements of husbandry to a set of miserable slaves, who are compelled to dig a hard and stubborn soil with instruments of wood. Besides these iron mines, there are also others which contain those precious metals that are so eagerly and so universally coveted, and which are to be found in no part of the country except Siberia. The silver mines near Argun have long been known; and others, both of silver and gold, have lately been discovered in the country of the Baskirs. It would be prudent for some nations to neglect and stop up these sources of wealth; but that is not the case with Russia, where all the inland provinces are so poor, that they are scarcely acquainted with those signs that have been universally agreed upon to answer every article of commerce.

The trade which the Russians have opened with China, Persia, Turkey, and Poland, consists principally in furs, such as ermine, sables, white wolves and black foxes skins, which all come from Siberia. Some skins that are remarkably fine, which have

very

very long glossy hair, of a beautiful colour, or happen to be particularly pleasing to the buyer, sell at a most extravagant price. These branches of commerce might become more considerable, and be extended to other objects.

BUT the greatest demand for the produce of the country will always be on the side of the Baltic. It seldom passes through the hands of the Russian merchants. They commonly want skill, stock, credit, and liberty. The import and export of all commodities is transacted by foreign houses.

No country is so happily situated for extending its commerce. Almost all its rivers are navigable. Peter the Great improved this natural advantage by the assistance of art, and ordered canals to be cut to join those rivers together. The most important of them are finished; others are not quite completed, and some are only planned. Such is the grand project of joining the Caspian sea to the Euxine, by digging a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga.

UNFORTUNATELY these means, which render the circulation of all commodities so easy in the interior parts of Russia, and so much facilitate an intercourse with all parts of the globe, are made useless by those restraints which are not to be surmounted by industry.

THE government have reserved to themselves the privilege of buying and selling the most valuable productions of the country; and, as long as this monopoly continues, trade will not be carried on with any degree of honesty or spirit. The abolition of this destructive monopoly would contribute

tribute to public prosperity, but that alone would not be sufficient, without the reduction of the army. BOOK
V.

WHEN Peter I. came to the crown, the military in Russia consisted only of 40,000 Strelits, undisciplined and ferocious men, who had no courage but against the people whom they oppressed, and against the sovereign whom they deposed or murdered at pleasure. This great prince disbanded those seditious troops, and established an army, modelled after those of the other states in Europe.

NOTWITHSTANDING the goodness of its troops, Russia is, of all the different powers, that which ought to be the most cautious of entering into a war. The desire of acquiring an influence in the affairs of Europe should never tempt the Russians far from their own frontiers; they could not act without subsidies, and it would be the highest absurdity for a nation, that has but six persons to a league square, ever to think of engaging in foreign service. Nor should they be excited to hostilities by the desire of enlarging their dominions, which are already too extensive. Russia will never reap the benefit of the labours of the Czar, and form a compact state, or become an enlightened and flourishing nation, unless it renounces the rage of conquest, to apply solely to the arts of peace. None of its neighbours can compel it to depart from this salutary system.

On the north side, the empire is better guarded by the frozen sea, than it would be by squadrons and fortresses.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

To the east, a single battalion and two field-pieces would disperse all the hords of Tartars that should attempt to molest them.

SHOULD Persia ever again become powerful enough to make any attempts against this empire, they would be rendered ineffectual by the Caspian sea, and by those immense deserts which separate that country from Russia.

To the south, the Turks have at present lost their power; and the war would be equally detrimental to the conquered or the conquering party, on account of the spot where it must be carried on.

To the west, the Russians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and have hardly any territory left.

SWEDEN has lost all that made her formidable; and without doubt may even be deprived of Finland, whenever it should suit the interest of the court of Petersburg.

SHOULD the genius of Frederick, which now serves as a counterpoise in the north to the forces of Muscovy, descend to his successors, it is not likely that the ambition of Brandenburg should ever turn towards Russia. Those monarchs could never venture an attack upon that empire, without turning their forces also towards Germany; and this would necessarily divide their strength in such a manner, that it could not act with efficacy.

THE result of these discussions is, that it is for the true interest of Russia to reduce her land forces, and possibly her navy also.

THE

THE small connections of that empire with the rest of Europe were wholly carried on by land, when the English, in seeking a passage to the East Indies by the northern seas, discovered the port of Archangel. Sailing up the Dwina, they came to Moscow, and there laid the foundation of a new trade.

RUSSIA had as yet no other communication with her neighbours but by this port, when Peter I. invited the traders who frequent the white sea to come to the Baltic, and endeavoured to procure a more extensive and advantageous mart for the productions of his empire. His creative genius soon enlarged his views. He was ambitious of making his country become a maritime power, and stationed his fleets at Cronstadt, which is a harbour to Petersburg.

THE sea is not broad enough before the mouth of the harbour. The ships that are coming in are forcibly driven by the impetuosity of the Neva upon the dangerous coasts of Finland. The way to it is through a channel so full of breakers, that they cannot be avoided unless the weather is remarkably fine. The ships soon rot in the harbour. The sailing of the squadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but by an easterly wind; and the westerly winds blow in those latitudes the greatest part of the summer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock-yards are at Petersburg, from whence the ships cannot get to Cronstadt, without passing over a very dangerous flat that lies in the middle of the river.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

IF Peter I. had not had that partiality which great men have, as well as others, for their own plans, he might easily have been made sensible that Cronstadt and Peterburg are improper places for the naval forces of Russia, and that it is in vain to expect that art should remove every natural disadvantage. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much fitter for the purpose. Perhaps too, his own reflections would have led him to consider that the nature of his empire was not calculated for that species of power.

RUSSIA has but few sea-coasts; most of them are not peopled; and no navigation will ever be carried on, unless there should be a change of government. Where then will officers be found capable of commanding men of war?

PETER I. however, found means to form a navy. A passion, which nothing could controul, made him surmount obstacles which were thought to be invincible; but this he did with more parade than utility. If ever his successors are earnestly intent to promote the good of their empire, they will forego the vain glory of displaying their flag in distant latitudes, where they have no trade to protect, as theirs is all carried on upon their own coasts, and only by foreign merchants. When the Russians thus change their system, they will save the needless expence of thirty-six or forty men of war, and will be satisfied with their galleys, which are sufficient for their defence, and would even enable them to attack all the powers on the Baltic, if it should be necessary.

THESE

THESE galleys are of different rates: some are fitted for cavalry, but a greater number for infantry. As the troops themselves, who are taught to manage the oar, compose the crew, the galleys are armed without expence or delay. The anchor is dropt every night, and the troops land where they are least expected.

WHEN the landing is effected, the troops draw the galleys ashore, and form a kind of intrenchment with them. Part of the army are left as a guard, and the rest disperse about the country that they intend to lay under contribution. When the expedition is over, they reembark, and renew their plunders in other places. Experience has shewn how much may be done by these armaments.

THE changes we have suggested are indispensably necessary to render Russia a flourishing state; but this is not the only thing required. To insure the continuance of her prosperity, some stability must be given to the order of the succession. The crown of Russia was long hereditary; Peter I. made it patrimonial; and it became elective at the last revolution. But every nation would wish to know upon what right its government is established; and the claim that has the greatest effect upon the people is birth-right. When this evident mark of succession is removed from the eyes of the multitude, universal revolt and dissention prevail.

BUT it is not enough to give the people a sovereign whom they cannot refuse to acknow-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ledge: that sovereign must make them happy; and this can never be done in Russia, till the form of government is changed.

CIVIL slavery is the condition of every subject in the empire, who is not noble: they are all at the disposal of their barbarous masters, as cattle are in other countries. Amongst these slaves, none are so ill used as those who till the ground; those valuable men, whose ease, happiness, and freedom, have been celebrated with such enthusiasm in happier climates.

POLITICAL slavery is the lot of the whole nation, since the sovereigns have established arbitrary power. Among the subjects who are considered as free, not one can be morally certain of the safety of his person, the property of his fortune, or even of his liberty, which may at any time be taken away, except in some cases previously determined by law.

EUROPE has long been entertained with the project of a code of laws preparing for Russia. The great princess, who now governs that empire, well knew, that the people themselves must approve the laws they are to obey, that they may reverence and value them as their own work; and thus addressed the deputies from all the cities of her vast empire: *My children, consider well, with me, the interests of the nation; let us together draw up a body of laws, which may establish public felicity upon a permanent basis.* But what are laws without magistrates? What are magistrates, whose sentence the despot may reverse according

according to his own caprice, and even punish them for passing it?

UNDER such a government, no tie can subsist between the members and their head. If he is always formidable to them, they are no less so to him. The strength he exerts to oppress them, is no other than their own united strength turned against themselves. Despair, or a nobler sentiment, may every moment turn it against him.

THE respect due to the memory of so great a man as Peter I, ought not to prevent us from declaring that his talents did not enable him at one view to discover every requisite necessary to form a well-constituted state. He was naturally a man of genius, and had been inspired with a love of glory. This passion made him active, patient, assiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty which nature, ignorance, custom, or obstinacy, could oppose to prevent the success of this enterprizes. With these virtues, and the foreign aids he called in, he succeeded in establishing an army, a fleet, and a seaport. He made several regulations necessary for the prosecution of his great projects; but though he has been generally extolled as a law-giver, he only enacted two or three laws, and those bear a stamp of a savage disposition. He never proceeded so far as to combine the happiness of his people with his own personal greatness. After his noble institutions, his people were as wretched as ever, and still groaned under poverty, slavery, and oppression.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

pression. He never relaxed in any one instance his arbitrary power, but rather made it more oppressive; and bequeathed to his successors that detestable and pernicious idea, that the subjects are nothing, and that the sovereign is all.

SINCE his death, it has been repeatedly asserted that the nation was not yet sufficiently enlightened to receive any benefit from being made free. But let flattering courtiers and false ministers learn, that liberty is the birth-right of all men; that every well-regulated society ought to be directed to the general good; and that it is power obtained by unlawful means which has deprived the greatest part of the globe of this natural advantage.

CATHERINE, who seems to have ascended the throne with an ambition for great actions, begins to be sensible, that ravages committed in the deserts of Moldavia, and in some defenceless islands, bought with the lives of two or three hundred thousand men, will not endear her name to posterity. She is labouring to instil notions of liberty into a people stupified by slavery; but it is doubtful whether she will succeed with the present generation.

WITH regard to the next, perhaps, the best method would be, to chuse out one of the most fertile provinces of the empire, to erect habitations there, and to supply them with all the implements of husbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each house. It would then be proper to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them the entire property of the houses

and lands prepared for them, to secure to them a subsistence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who has no property in the country. A toleration should be granted to all religions, and consequently private and domestic worship should be allowed, but no public form of worship be established.

From thence the seeds of liberty would spread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would see the happiness of these colonists, and wish to be as happy as they. Were I to be cast among savages, I would not bid them build huts to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myself. When the severe season came on, I should enjoy the benefit of my fore-sight; the savage would see it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the same with an enslaved nation; we are not to bid them be free; but we are to lay before their eyes the sweets of liberty, and they will wish for them.

I would by no means impose upon my colonists the burden of the first expences I had incurred on their account; much less would I entail the pretended debt upon their offspring. This would be false and inhuman policy. Is not a state sufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years of age, who voluntarily devotes his person, his strength, his talents, and his life, to the service of the public? Must he pay a rent likewise for the present he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be considered as a subject, but not till the third or fourth generation, if the project is meant to succeed, and if the people are to be brought to that

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with.

IN this new arrangement, where the interests of the monarch will be blended with those of the subject, in order to strengthen Russia, she must aim less at glory, and sacrifice the influence she has assumed over the general affairs of Europe. Petersburg, which has improperly been made a capital, must be reduced to a meer commercial staple; and the seat of government transferred to the heart of the empire. It is from such a center of dominion, that a wise sovereign, acquainted with the wants and resources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the suppression of every kind of slavery will spring up a middle state among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever existed in any nation.

TILL this is accomplished, the court of Russia will endeavour in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men from all countries. Those exotics will perish there, as foreign plants do in our green-houses. In vain will they erect schools and academies at Petersburg; in vain will they send pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained up under the best masters. Those young men, on their return from their travels, will be forced to neglect their talents, and embrace an inferior station to procure a subsistence. In all undertakings, much depends upon the first steps we take; and the first step is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower classes of men. If

we

we learn to till the ground, to dress skins, to manufacture our wool, we shall soon see wealthy families spring up. From these will arise children, who, not chusing to follow the laborious professions of their fathers, will begin to think, to converse, to write, and to imitate nature; and then we shall have philosophers, orators, poets, painters, and statuaries. Their productions will be sought after by rich men, and they will purchase them. As long as men are in want, they will work, and continue their labour till their wants are satisfied. Then they become indolent, and unable to employ their time; and thus the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and indolence, for men fly to them when they have no other resources.

IF we attend to the progress of society, we shall find husbandmen plundered by robbers; these husbandmen select a few from among themselves to oppose the robbers, and thus they commence soldiers. Whilst some are reaping, and the rest upon guard, some persons looking on say to the labourers and soldiers, You seem to be hard at work; if you that are husbandmen will feed us, and you that are soldiers will defend us, we will beguile your labours with our songs and dances. Hence the origin of the troubadour, or bard, and of the man of science. In process of time, the latter is sometimes joined with the chief against the people, and sings the praises of tyranny; sometimes with the people against the tyrant, and then he sings the praises of liberty.

borty. Whichever part he takes, he becomes in time a citizen of consequence.

LET us attend to the usual progress of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We shall find all our efforts ineffectual, and every thing tending to decay around us; we shall be nearly in the same barbarous state, from which we endeavoured to extricate ourselves; nor shall we be able to effect this, till some event occasion an imperfect police to be established, whose progress at most can only be accelerated by foreign assistance. This is all we can reasonably expect, and we must continue to cultivate our land.

In this we shall find another advantage, which is, that the arts and sciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards perfection, and we shall be originals; whereas, if we copy foreign models, we shall be ignorant of the cause of their perfection, and we shall never be any thing more than imperfect imitators.

THE picture we have here drawn of Russia may be thought to be an improper digression; but, perhaps, this is the time to form a right estimate of a power, which, for some years past, has acted so conspicuous and distinguished a part. Let us now enquire into the connections other European nations have formed with China.

Connections of
the Europeans with
China.

INDUSTRY prevails among the Chinese more than among any other people in the world; perhaps, indeed, it is the only country in which no idle person can be found. Though the art of printing

printing is known there, and general education carefully attended to, yet the Chinese cannot shew either a capital building or a beautiful statue, or any elegant compositions in poetry or prose; they have no music nor painting; nor have they any of that kind of knowledge, which a man of reflection, and even unconnected with society, might by his own industry carry to a great degree of perfection. As their customs allow of no emigration, and as the empire is extremely populous, their labours are confined to the necessities of life. More profit attends the invention of the most trifling useful art, than is derived from the most sublime discovery which is only an exertion of genius. A man, who can turn the cuttings of gauze to some use, is more esteemed than one who can solve the most difficult problem. In this country it is a question still more frequently asked than among ourselves, *What is the use of this?* The apprehension of a scarcity fills the mind of every citizen with anxiety: they all exert their utmost endeavours, and lose no time in endeavouring to prevent it. Private interest is the secret or open spring of all the actions of the Chinese. They must therefore necessarily be addicted to lying, fraud, and theft; and must be mean, selfish, and covetous.

AN European, who buys silks at Canton, is cheated in the quantity, quality, and price. The goods are carried on board; where the dishonesty of the Chinese merchant is soon detected. When he comes for his money, the European tells him, Chinese,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Chinese, thou hast cheated me. That may be, replies the Chinese, but you must pay. But, says the European, thou art a rogue, a scoundrel, a wretch. European, answers the Chinese, that may be, but I must be paid. The European pays; the Chinese takes his money, and says at parting, What has thy anger availed thee? what advantage hast thou obtained by thy abuse of me? would it not have been much better to have paid at once, and have been silent? Wherever men are hardened to insults, and are not ashamed of dishonesty, the empire may be very well governed, but the morals of the people must be very bad.

THIS disposition for gain made the Chinese renounce the use of gold and silver coin in their inland trade. They were forced to this by the great increase of coiners, and were reduced to the necessity of using only copper money.

COPPER becoming scarce, though history has not informed us by what means, those shells were afterwards brought into use, so well known by the name of cowries. The government, having observed that the people grew dissatisfied with so brittle a commodity in lieu of coin, ordered that all copper vessels in the empire should be brought to the mint. This ill-judged expedient proving insufficient to answer the demands of the public, about four hundred temples of the god Fo were ordered to be demolished, and all his idols melted down. After this, the court paid the magistrates and the army, partly in copper, and partly in paper currency. The people were

so exasperated at these dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time, which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money.

NOTWITHSTANDING the self-interested disposition of the Chinese, their foreign connections were for a long time but small. Their reserved behaviour with other people proceeded from the contempt they had for them. They grew desirous, however, of frequenting the neighbouring ports; and the Tartar government, less solicitous to preserve the antient manners than the former government was, favoured this means of increasing the wealth of the nation. Voyages were openly undertaken, which before were only tolerated by the interested governors of the maritime provinces. A people so famed for their wisdom could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception wherever they went. They took advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained of their taste, to recommend the commodities they had to dispose of; and their activity exerted itself on the continent as well as by sea.

CHINA at present trades with Corea, which is supposed to have been originally peopled with Tartars. It has certainly often been conquered by them, and has been sometimes subject to, sometimes independent of, the Chinese; to whom it now pays tribute. Here they carry china-ware, tea, and silks; and in return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary sort of ginseng.

THE Tartars, who may be considered as foreigners, purchase of the Chinese woollen stuffs, rice, tea, and tobacco, for which they give them sheep, oxen, furs, and chiefly ginseng. This shrub grows only upon the highest mountains, in the thickest forests, and about craggy rocks. The stem is somewhat hairy, strait, round, and of a deep red, except towards the bottom, where it becomes whitish. It grows to the height of about eighteen inches. Towards the top, it throws out branches which bear oblong leaves, that are small, woolly, jagged, of a dark green on the upper side, and whitish and glossy on the back. The age of the shrub is known by the shoots, and its value increases in proportion to its age. The virtues of the ginseng are many; but it is generally allowed to be a strengthener of the stomach, a purifier of the blood. The Chinese are so fond of it, that they never think they can pay too dear for it. The government sends out ten thousand Tartar soldiers every year to gather this plant; and every one is obliged to bring home two ounces of the best ginseng gratis, and for the rest they are paid its weight in silver. Private persons are not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition does not prevent them. If they did not break this unjust law, they would not be able to pay for the commodities they buy in the empire, and consequently must submit to the want of them.

WE have already taken notice of the trade of China with the Russians. At present it is of little consequence, but it may and must become considerable.

THE

THE trade China carries on with the inhabitants of Lefs Bucharía consists only in exchanging its tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth, for the gold dust these people find in their streams when the snow begins to melt. If ever those savages learn to work the mines that their mountains abound with, their connections, which are now so few, will soon increase, and it is impossible to determine how far they may be extended.

THE empire of China is parted from the Mogul dominions, and other parts of India, by sands, mountains, and rocks, which prevent all communication; their inland trade is, therefore, so contracted, that it does not exceed eight or nine millions*. That which they carry on by sea is more considerable.

It is supported by their silks, their tea, their china, and some articles of less consequence. Japan pays the Chinese in copper and gold; the Philippine islands, with piastres; Batavia, with pepper and other spices; Siam, with woods for dying, and with varnish; Tonquin, with silk; and Cochinchina, with sugar and gold. All these several articles together may amount to thirty millions†, and employ a hundred and fifty vessels. The Chinese get at least cent. per cent. upon them, of which Cochinchina pays half. Their correspondents in most of the towns they trade with are descendants of their own countrymen, who fled from China when the Tartars made themselves masters of it.

* On an average, about 372,000*l*.

† 1,312,500*l*.

THE trade of China, which is not carried on to the north beyond Japan, nor to the east beyond the streights of Malacca and of Sunda, would probably have been extended, if the Chinese ship-builders had not been so wedded to their old customs; and had condescended to receive instruction from the Europeans.

WHEN the Europeans first appeared upon the coasts of China, they were admitted equally into all the ports. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their haughtiness with the men, and repeated acts of insult and indiscretion, soon deprived them of that privilege; and now they are only suffered to put in at Canton, the southernmost harbour of the empire.

THE city of Canton is situated on the banks of the Tigris, a large river, which on one part communicates with the remotest provinces by means of several canals, and on the other admits the largest ships to come up to its walls. Formerly the French ships were to be seen there with the Chinese vessels; but now all European ships are obliged to anchor at Hoaung-pon, four leagues from the city. It is not clear, whether the Chinese were induced to take this precaution from the fear of being surprised, or whether it was a contrivance of men in power for their own private interest. The mistrustful and rapacious disposition of the Chinese authorises both these conjectures.

THIS regulation did not affect the sailors themselves; they still enjoyed in Canton all the freedom that is consistent with public tranquillity. They were naturally

naturally inclined to make an improper use of this indulgence, and they soon grew tired of the circumspection which is requisite under a government so much addicted to ceremony. They were punished for their imprudence, and forbidden all access to men in power. The magistrate, wearied out with their perpetual complaints, would no longer hear them but through the channel of interpreters who were dependent on the Chinese merchants. All Europeans were ordered to reside in one particular part of the town, that was allotted to them. None were exempted but such as could procure a person who would be answerable for their good behaviour. The restraints were made still more grievous in 1760. The court, being informed by the English, that trade laboured under great difficulties, sent commissaries from Peking, who were bribed by the parties accused. Upon the report made by these partial men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houses, where they could only trade with such merchants as had an exclusive privilege. This monopoly has lately been abolished, but the other restraints still continue the same.

THESE mortifications have not induced us to relinquish the trade to China. We continue to get from thence tea, china, raw silk, manufactured silks, varnish, paper, and some other articles.

THE tea-plant is a shrub about as high as our pomegranate or myrtle. It is propagated by seeds, which are sown in holes three or four inches deep. No part of it is used but the leaves; which it bears in abundance at three years old, but a less

The Europeans
buy tea at
China.

quantity at seven. It is then cut down to the stem to obtain the shoots, every one of which bears nearly as many leaves as a whole shrub.

TEA is cultivated in most provinces of China, but is not equally good every where; though care is always taken to place it in a southern aspect and in valleys. The tea that grows in stony ground is far preferable to that which grows in a light soil, but the worst sort is that which is produced in a clayish ground.

THE different degree of perfection in tea does not arise merely from the difference of soil; but chiefly from the season in which it is gathered.

THE tea is gathered in March, when the leaves are yet small, tender, and delicate; and this is called imperial tea, because it is chiefly reserved for the use of the court and people of rank. The second time of gathering it is in April; the leaves are then larger and more spread, but of less quality than the first. The last and worst kind of tea is gathered in May. It is all closely packed up in chests made of a coarse kind of tin, that the air may not get at it, which would spoil its flavour.

TEA is the common drink of the Chinese; and was not introduced among them through vain caprice. Almost throughout the empire, the water is unwholesome and nauseous. Of all the methods that were tried to improve it, none succeeded so well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with many virtues, and extolled as an excellent dissolvent, a purifier of the blood, a strengthener of the head and stomach, and a promoter of digestion and perspiration.

THE

THE high opinion which the Europeans who first went into China conceived of its inhabitants, induced them to adopt the high, though, perhaps, exaggerated opinion the Chinese had of tea. We caught the enthusiasm; and it has gone on increasing in the North of Europe and America, where the air is thick and loaded with vapours.

WHATEVER may be the influence of prejudice in general, yet it must be allowed, that tea produces some good effects in those countries where the use of it is universally adopted: but these effects cannot be so great any where as in China. We know the Chinese reserve the best tea for themselves, and adulterate that intended for exportation, by mixing with it other leaves, which resemble those of tea in shape, but may not have the same properties. We know too, that, since the exportation has been so great, they are not so curious in the choice of the soil, nor so careful in the preparing of it. Our manner of using it may likewise contribute to lessen its virtues. We drink it too hot and too strong; we put in a great deal of sugar, frequently perfumes, and sometimes pernicious liquors. Besides all this, its being conveyed so far by sea is alone sufficient to exhaust most of its salubrious salts.

WE shall never be able to determine exactly the virtues of tea, till it is transplanted into our own climates. We began to despair of success, though the experiments had been only made with seed, and of a bad sort too. At last a tree has been brought over, the stem of which measured six inches; and it has been put into the hands of Lin-

The Europeans
buy porcelain in
China.

næus, the most celebrated botanist in Europe. He has found means to preserve it, and thinks he shall be able to propagate it in open air, even in Sweden, since it thrives in the northern parts of China. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant, which can never suffer so much by change of soil, as by growing musty in the long voyage it must undergo in being brought from abroad. It is not long since we had as little prospect of attaining to the art of making porcelain.

SOME years ago there were in the collection of Count Caylus two or three little fragments of a vase supposed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analysed proved to be unglazed porcelain. If that learned man is not mistaken, or has not been misinformed, the making of porcelain was known in the flourishing days of ancient Egypt. But, without some more authentic monuments than the allegation of a single fact, we must not deprive China of this invention, where the art has been known for a longer time than we can trace.

EGYPT is supposed by many to have the pre-eminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to its foundation, and to laws, sciences, and arts, in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim. Nor can it be certainly determined, whether these two empires are not equally ancient, and have not received all their social institutions from a people inhabiting the vast region that divides them? Whether the savage inhabitants of the great mountains of Asia, after wandering about for many ages on the continent that forms the center

of our hemisphere, have not insensibly dispersed themselves towards the coasts of the seas that surround it, and formed themselves into separate nations in China, India, Persia, and Egypt? Whether the successive floods, which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have inclosed and confined them to those regions full of mountains and deserts? These conjectures are not foreign to the history of commerce, which in future times must greatly tend to illustrate the general history of the human race, of the several settlements they have formed, of their opinions, and inventions of every kind.

THE art of making porcelain is, if not one of the most wonderful, at least one of the most pleasing that men have ever discovered; it is the neatness of luxury, which is preferable to its magnificence.

PORCELAIN is an earthen ware of the most perfect kind. It varies in colour, texture, and transparency. Transparency, indeed, is not essential to it, for there is a great deal of very fine porcelain which has not this quality.

It is usually covered with white or coloured varnish. This varnish is merely a layer of melted glass, which must never be completely transparent. This is stiled glazed porcelain, and is properly what we call china; the unglazed is distinguished by the name of porcelain biscuit. This is intrinsically as good as the other, but is neither so elegant, so bright, nor so beautiful.

THE word earthen-ware is well adapted to porcelain, because, as all other earthen ware, the substance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere division of its parts. No metallic or saline substance whatever must enter into its composition, not even in the glazing, which must be made of substances nearly, if not altogether, as simple.

THE best porcelain, and commonly the closest, is that which is made of the simplest materials, such as a vitrifiable stone, and a pure and white clay. On this last substance depend the closeness and compactness of porcelain, and indeed of earthen-ware in general.

THE connoisseurs divide the china that comes from Asia into six classes; the trouted china, the old white, the Japan, the Chinese, the Chinese japan, and the Indian. These several appellations rather denote a difference that strikes the eye than a real distinction.

The trouted china, which no doubt is called so from the resemblance it bears to the scales of a trout, seems to be the most ancient, and favours most of the infancy of the art. It has two imperfections. The paste is always very brown, and the surface appears full of cracks. These cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the porcelain itself; and therefore this sort has but a small degree of transparency, does not sound well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other. To hide these cracks, it is painted with a variety of colours: in this kind of ornament consists its only value. The facility with which Count Lauragais has imitated

imitated it has convinced us that it is only an imperfect sort of porcelain.

THE old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we consider only the glazing, or examine the biscuit. This is very valuable porcelain, but very scarce, and but little used. The paste of it seems to be extremely short, and fit only for small vases, figures, and other ornamental china. It is sold in trade for japan, though it is certain that some very fine of the same kind is made in China. It is of two different hues; the one a perfect cream-colour, the other a blueish white, which makes it look more transparent. The glazing seems to be more incorporated into this last. This sort has been attempted at St. Cloud, and some pieces have been produced that looked very beautiful; but those who have narrowly examined them have said they were no better than frit or lead, and would not bear a comparison.

THE japan is not so easily distinguished as most people imagine from the finest of the sort made in China. A connoisseur, whom we have consulted, pretends that in general the glazing of the true japan is whiter, and has less of the blueish cast, than the porcelain of China, that the ornaments are laid on with less profusion, that the blue is brighter, and the patterns and flowers not so whimsical, and better copied from nature. His opinion seems to be confirmed by the testimony of some writers, who tell us, that the Chinese who trade to Japan bring home some pieces of china that make more shew than their own, but are not so solid; and that they
serve

serve to ornament their apartments, but they never use them, because they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varnish, whether sea-green, blueish, or purple, he believes to be Chinese. All the japan brought into Europe comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are suffered to come into that empire. Possibly they may have picked it out of the porcelains brought hither every year by the Chinese, or they may have purchased it at Canton. In either case, the distinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would not be founded on fact, but merely on prejudice. From this opinion it is plain, that what is sold here for japan is very fine china.

THERE is less doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer cast than that of Japan, it is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimsical. The paste is in general whiter and more compact; the grain finer and closer, and the china thinner. Amongst the several sorts made in China, there is one that is very antient; it is painted of a deep blue, a beautiful red, or a green like verdigrease, and is very coarse, very thick, and very heavy. Some of this is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a clear sound, but both want transparency. It is sold for old china, and the finest pieces are supposed to come from Japan. It was originally a better sort of earthen-ware, rather than a true porcelain; time and experience may have improved it. It is grown more transparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, they look brighter.

brighter. The essential difference between this and other china is, that this is made of a shorter paste, and is very hard and solid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four supporters, which were put to prevent its giving way in baking. By this contrivance, the Chinese have succeeded in making very large pieces of porcelain. Those that are not of this sort, and which is called modern china, are of a longer paste and finer grain, and are higher glazed, whiter, and clearer. They seldom have the marks of the supporters, and their transparency has nothing glassy in it. All that is made with this paste is easily turned, so that it is visible the workman's hand is glided over it, as over a fine smooth clay. There is an infinite variety of this sort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanship, and price.

A FIFTH sort is what we call chinese japan, because it unites the ornaments of the porcelain which is thought to come from Japan with those that are more in the Chinese taste. Among this kind of porcelain, there is some that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white scrolls. The glazing of this kind is remarkable for being a true white enamel, whereas that of the other sorts is half transparent; for the Chinese glazing is never entirely so.

THE colours in general are laid on in the same manner, both on the true china and the imitations of it. The first and most lasting of them is the blue that is extracted from smalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either glazed

or

or baked, so that the glazing that is put on afterwards serves as a dissolvent. All the other colours, and even the blue that enters into the composition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and must first be mixed up and ground with a saline substance or calx of lead, that favours their ingress into the glazing. It is a pretty common thing for the Chinese to colour the whole of the glazing; the colour is then laid on neither above nor below it, but is incorporated into the glazing itself. Some very extraordinary fanciful ornaments are made in this manner. In whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great care in the preparation.

ALL the sorts of porcelain we have described are made at King-to-chin, an immense town in the province of Kiamfi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men. It has been attempted to be made at Peking and other places of the empire; but it has not succeeded any where, though the same workmen have been employed, and the same materials made use of; so that this branch of industry is entirely given up, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where the sort of porcelain is made that is known amongst us by the name of India china. The paste is long and yielding; but in general the colours, especially the blue, and the red of mars, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the interior parts of China. All the colours, except the

the blue, stand up in lumps, and are very badly laid on. This is the only china that has purple, which has given rise to that absurd notion of its being painted in Holland. Most of the cups, and plates, and other vessels, our merchants bring home, are of this manufacture, which is less esteemed in China than our delft is in Europe.

ATTEMPTS have been made to introduce this art into Europe. It has succeeded best in Saxony. The porcelain that comes from this country is real porcelain, and probably made with very simple materials, though prepared and mixed with more art than in Asia. This curious preparation, together with the scarcity of the materials, is no doubt what makes the Dresden porcelain so dear. As there is but one sort of paste that comes from that manufacture, it has been surmised, and not without some degree of probability, that the Saxons were only in possession of their own secret, and by no means of the art of making china. What seems to confirm this suspicion is the great affinity between the Saxon and other German porcelain, which seems to be made upon the same principle.

HOWEVER this be, it is certain no porcelain is higher glazed, smoother, better shaped, more pleasing to the eye, or more solid and durable. It will resist a fierce fire much longer than many of the sorts made in China. The colours are finely disposed, and executed in a masterly manner; none are so well adapted to the glazing; they are blended with great exactness; they are bright, without
being

being shaded and glazed, like those of most of the porcelain made at Sevre.

THE mention of this place reminds us that we must take notice of the porcelain made in France. This, like the English, is only made with frit ; that is, with stones that are not fusible in themselves, but receive a beginning of fusion from the mixture of a greater or less quantity of salt ; and accordingly it is more glassy, of a looser texture, and more brittle than any other. That of Sevre, which is by far the worst of all, and always looks yellowish and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the excellence of the artists that are employed for the patterns and the pencilling. These great masters have displayed so much taste in the execution of some of the pieces, that they will be the admiration of posterity ; but in itself this ware will never be but an object of taste, luxury, and expence. The supporters will always be a principal cause of its dearness.

ALL porcelain, when it receives the last effect of the fire, is actually in a state that has a tendency to fusion, is soft and pliable, and might be worked like red-hot iron. There is none but what will bend and give way when it is in that state. If the pieces, when they are turned, are thicker, or project more on one side than another, the strongest will infallibly bear away the weakest ; they will warp to that side, and the piece is spoiled. This inconvenience is prevented, by propping it up with bits of porcelain made of the same paste, of different shapes, which are applied under or to the parts
that

that project, and are most in danger of being warped. As all porcelain shrinks in baking, the props must also be made of such materials as will yield in the same degree exactly as the paste they are intended to support. As the different pastes do not shrink equally, it follows that the props must be made of the same paste as the piece they support.

THE softer the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it wants to be propped up. This is the great fault of the Sevre china; the paste is very costly, and frequently more of it is wasted in props, than is employed in making of the piece itself. The necessity of this expensive method produces another inconvenience. The glazing cannot be baked at the same time as the porcelain, which therefore must twice undergo the heat of the furnace. The porcelain made in China, and the best imitations of it, being of a stiffer paste, and less susceptible of vitrification, seldom want any props, and are baked ready-glazed. They consequently consume much less paste, are seldom spoiled, and require less time, as well as less fire and trouble.

SOME writers have urged, in favour of the superiority of Asiatic china, that it resists fire better than ours; that all European china will melt in that of Saxony, but that the Dresden itself will melt in the foreign china. This assertion is entirely erroneous, if taken in its full extent. Few porcelains of china will stand the fire so well as the Dresden; they spoil and bubble in the same degree of fire which serves to bake that made by

Count

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Count Lauragais ; but this is a circumstance of so little consequence, that it scarce deserves attention. Porcelain is not intended to return into the furnace when once it is taken out, nor is it designed to bear the action of an intense fire.

It is in point of solidity that the foreign porcelain truly excels that of Europe ; it is by the property it has of heating quicker and with less risque, and of bearing, without danger of being broken, the sudden effect of cold or boiling hot water ; by the facility with which it is moulded and baked, which is an inestimable advantage, as pieces of all sizes can be made with great ease, as it can be baked without any risque, be sold at a lower price, be of more general use, and consequently become the object of a more extensive trade.

ANOTHER great advantage of the India porcelain is, that the same paste is very useful for making crucibles, and a variety of such vessels which are constantly used in the other arts. They not only bear the fire for a longer time, but communicate nothing of their substance to what is melted in them. This substance is so pure, white, compact, and hard, that it will scarce melt at all, and acquires no kind of tinge.

FRANCE is at the eve of enjoying all these advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in search of the secret of the Chinese, has at last made some china that is very like it. His materials have the same properties, and if they are not exactly the same, at least they are a species of the same kind. Like the Chinese, he can make his paste long or short, and follow ei-

ther his own or some other process. His porcelain is not inferior to that of the Chinese in point of pliability, and is superior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too in the facility with which it takes the colours. If it can be improved to such a degree as to have as fine and as white a grain, we may dispense with the porcelain of China. But we cannot so well do without their silk.

BOOK
V.

THE annals of this empire ascribe the discovery of silk to one of the wives of the emperor Hoangti. The empresses amused themselves with breeding up silk-worms, drawing the silk, and working it. It is even said, that to the interior part of the palace there was a piece of ground set apart for the culture of mulberry-trees. The empress, attended by the chief ladies of her court, went in person and gathered the leaves of some of the branches that were brought down so as to be within her reach. So prudent an instance of policy promoted this branch of industry to such a degree, that the Chinese, who before were only clothed in skins, soon appeared dressed in silk. The silks, that were now grown very common, were soon brought to great perfection. The Chinese were indebted for this last advantage to the writings of some ingenious men, and even of some ministers, who did not think it beneath them to attend to this new art. All China learnt from their theory every thing belonging to it.

The Europeans
buy silks
in China.

THE art of breeding up silk-worms, and of spinning and weaving their silk, extended from China to India and Persia, where it made no very rapid progress; if it had, Rome would not, at the end

VOL. II. T of

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of silk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, silks became a little more known, but did not grow common. They were long considered as an article of luxury, and reserved for persons in the most eminent stations, and for the greatest solemnities. At last Roger, king of Sicily, sent for manufacturers from Athens; and the culture of the mulberry-tree soon passed from that island to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wished to partake of an advantage from which Italy derived so much wealth; and after some fruitless attempts they attained it. However, from the nature of the climate, or some other cause, it has not equally succeeded in every place.

THE silks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin or in tram, are all ordinary silks; but they are useful, and even necessary for brocades, for embroidery, and for all works that require strong silk.

THE other Italian silks, those of Novi, Venice, Tuscany, Milan, Montferrat, Bergamo, and Piedmont, are used in organzin for the warp, though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bologna silks were for a long time preferred to any other. But since those of Piedmont have been improved, they justly claim the preference, as being the smoothest, the finest, and the lightest. Those of Bergamo come nearest to them.

THOUGH the Spanish silks in general are very fine, those of Valencia are by far the best. They are all fit for any sort of manufacture; the only fault

fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is a great detriment to the dye.

BOOK
V.

THE French silks excell most others in Europe, and are inferior to none but those of Piedmont and Bergamo in point of lightness. Besides, they are brighter coloured than those of Piedmont; and more even and stronger than those of Bergamo. Some years ago, France produced six thousand quintals of silk, which sold from fifteen to twenty-one livres * a pound, consisting of fourteen ounces. At an average of eighteen livres †, it produced an income of ten millions ‡. When the new plantations are improved so much as to produce what is expected from them, France will be eased of the sum she pays to foreign powers for this article, which is still a considerable one.

THE variety of silk produced in Europe has not yet enabled us to dispense with that of the Chinese. Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it will always be in request for its whiteness. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature; but it is more probable, that, when the Chinese draw the silk, they put some ingredient into the bason, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous substances, or at least the coarsest parts of them. The little waste there is in this silk compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, seems to give great weight to this conjecture.

HOWEVER this be, the Chinese silk is so far superior to any other in whiteness, that it is the only one which can be used for blondes and gauzes:

* From about 12s. to about 18s. 6d. † 15s. 9d. ‡ 437,500l.

all our endeavours to substitute our own in the blonde manufactures have been fruitless, whether we have made use of prepared or unprepared silk. The attempts in gauze have not been quite so unsuccessful. The whitest French and Italian silks have been tried, and seemed to answer tolerably well; but neither the colour nor the dressing were so perfect as in the gauzes made with the Chinese silk.

IN the last century, the Europeans imported very little silk from China. The French silk succeeded very well for black and coloured gauze, and for cat-gut that was then in fashion. The taste, that has prevailed these forty years past, and more especially the last twenty-five, for white gauzes and blondes, has gradually increased the demand for this production of the East. Of late it has amounted to eighty thousand weight a-year, of which France has always taken near three-fourths. This importation has increased to such a degree, that in 1766 the English alone imported a hundred and four thousand weight: as it could not be all consumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have used it for tabbies and hose. The stockings made of this silk are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near so fine as others.

BESIDES this silk, so remarkable for its whiteness, which comes chiefly from the province of Tche-Kiang, and is known in Europe by the name of Nanking-silk, which is the place where most of it is prepared, China produces ordinary silks, which we call Canton. As these are only fit for some kinds of tram, and are as dear as our
own,

own, which answer the same purpose, very few are imported. What the English and Dutch bring home does not exceed five or six thousand pieces. The manufactured silks are a much more considerable article.

THE Chinese are not less ingenious in weaving their silks than in preparing them. This does not extend to those that are mixed with gold and silver. Their manufacturers have never known how to draw out these metals into thread, and the whole of their art consists in rolling their silks upon gilt paper, or putting the paper upon them after they are woven. Both methods are equally bad.

THOUGH, in general, men are more apt to be pleased with novelty than with true excellence, yet the Europeans have never been tempted to buy these stuffs. They have been equally disgusted at the awkwardness of the patterns, which exhibit nothing but distorted figures, and unmeaning groupings; they discover no taste in the disposition of the lights and shades, nor any of that elegance and ease that appears in the works of our good artists. There is a stiffness and a want of freedom in all they do, that is displeasing to persons of any taste; all favours of their particular turn of mind, which is destitute of vivacity and elevation.

THE only thing that makes us overlook the defects in those works that represent flowers, birds, or trees, is, that none of those objects are raised. The figures are painted upon the silk itself with indelible colours; and yet the deception is so per-

fact, that all these objects appear to be brocade or embroidered.

As for their plain silks, they want no recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind; and so are their colours, especially the green and the red. The white of their damasks has something extremely pleasing. The Chinese make them only with the silk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the warp, as we do, but only half-boil the woof. This method gives the damask more substance and stiffness. It has a reddish cast without being yellow, which is very pleasing, and has not that glare that dazzles the sight. This agreeable white is likewise observed in the Chinese varnish.

The Europeans buy lacquered ware, and paper, in China.

THIS varnish is a kind of liquid gum, of a reddish colour. The Japan varnish is preferable to that of Tonquin and Siam, and these are much better than that of Cambodia. The Chinese buy it at all these markets, because from their provinces they cannot procure a sufficient quantity for their own consumption. The tree that yields the gum from which the varnish is made is called Tsi-chu, and resembles the ash, both in the bark and the leaf. It never grows above fifteen feet, and the stem commonly measures two feet and a half in circumference. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, but is propagated in the following manner.

In the spring, when the sap of the Tsi-chu begins to form, the strongest shoot that grows out of the stem is chosen, and covered all over with yellow earth; then it is wrapped round with a

mat, to protect it from the effect of the air. If the sprig soon takes root, it is cut and planted in autumn; but if it proves backward, this is deferred to another opportunity. At whatever season it is done, the young plant must be preserved from the ants, which is effected by filling the hole with ashes.

THE Tsi-chu yields no varnish till it is seven or eight years old, and then only in summer. It distils from incisions made at different distances in the bark, and is received in a shell fixed at each incision. It is reckoned a good produce, when twenty pounds of varnish are collected in one night out of a thousand trees. This gum is so noxious, that those who use it are obliged to take constant precautions to guard against its malignancy. The artists rub their hands and faces with rape oil before they begin, and after they have done their work, and wear a mask, gloves, boots, and a breast-plate.

THERE are two ways of using the varnish. The first is to rub the wood with a particular sort of oil used in China; and as soon as it is dry, the varnish is laid on. It is so transparent, that the veins of the wood appear tinged through it, if it is laid on but two or three times. If it is repeatedly laid on, it may be brought to shine like a looking-glass. The other way is more complicated. A kind of paste-board is glued by the help of mastic over the wood. On this smooth and solid ground are spread several layers of varnish. It must be neither too thick nor too liquid; and in

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

this just medium the skill of the artist principally consists.

WHICHEVER way the varnish is laid on, it effectually preserves the wood from decaying. The worm can scarce penetrate it, and the damp does not affect it in the least; and with a little care this varnish leaves no smell behind.

THIS varnish is as pleasing to the eye as it is durable. It may be applied on gold and silver, and mixed with all sorts of colours. Upon it are painted figures, landscapes, palaces, hunting parties, and battles. In short, it would not be deficient in any respect, if it were not generally spoiled by the badness of the Chinese drawing.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defect, the making of this ware requires much pains and constant attention. The varnish must be laid on nine or ten times at least, and cannot be spread too thin. There must be a sufficient time allowed between the application of each layer, that it may be suffered to dry. A longer time still must be allowed between the last layer and the polishing, painting, and gilding. A whole summer is hardly sufficient for all this process at Nanking, from whence the court and the chief cities of the empire are supplied. It is carried on with greater expedition at Canton. As there is a great demand of this ware for Europe, and as the Europeans will have it made according to their own plan, and will allow but a short time to complete it, it is usually finished in too great haste. The artist, not having time to give the necessary degree of perfection to his work, is satisfied if he can but make it pleasing

to the eye. The Chinese manufacture of paper is not liable to the same imperfections.

BOOK
V.

ORIGINALLY the Chinese wrote with a steel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which, being fastened together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of silk or linen, cut to any length or breadth. At last, about sixteen hundred years ago, they found out the secret of making paper.

It is generally imagined that this paper is made with silk; but whoever is acquainted with the practice of the art must know, that silk can never be so divided as to be wrought into a paste of equal consistence. The best Chinese paper is made with cotton, and would be equal, if not preferable, to ours, if it were as durable.

THE ordinary paper, which is not intended for writing, is made of the first or second bark of the mulberry-tree, the elm, the cotton-tree, but chiefly of the bamboo. These substances, after they are become rotten by soaking in muddy water, are buried in lime; then bleached in the sun, and boiled in coppers to a fluid paste, which is spread upon hurdles, and hardens into sheets, that measure ten or twelve feet, or more. This is the paper used by the Chinese for furniture. It has a very pleasing effect from the lustre they give it, and from the variety of shapes into which they form it.

THOUGH this paper is apt to crack, to be injured by damps, and to be worm-eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Asia the idea of furnishing closets and making screens

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

screens with it; but that taste begins to decline. The Chinese paper is already discarded for that of the English, the use of which will certainly be continued when it has attained a greater degree of perfection. The French begin to imitate this novelty; and in all probability it will be universally adopted.

Besides the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China ink, camphire, borax, rhubarb, gum-lac, and rattans, a kind of cane that serves to make elbow-chairs; and formerly they brought gold from thence.

In Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of silver. If there were a country in which it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither to change it for silver. They would bring us back that silver, to receive gold in exchange, which they would again carry abroad for the same purpose. This trade would be continued in this manner till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the same in both countries. It was upon this principle, that for a long time silver was sent to China, to be bartered for gold; by which traffic a profit of 45 per cent. was made. It was never carried on by the charter companies; because the profit they made upon it, however considerable it may appear, was yet much inferior to that obtained upon their own merchandise. Their agents, who were not indulged in chasing what trade they pleased, attended to these speculations for their own advantage. They pursued this branch of commerce with so much assiduity, that in a short time the returns

turns were not sufficient to induce them to continue it. Gold is of greater or less value at Canton, according to the season of the year; its value is higher from the beginning of February to the end of May than through the rest of the year, when the harbour is full of foreign ships. Yet in the most favourable season no more than eighteen per cent. is to be made of it, which is not a sufficient inducement for any one to undertake it. The only agents, who have not been sufferers by the cessation of this trade, are those of the French company, who were never allowed to be concerned in it. The directors reserved that profit for themselves. Many attempted it; but Castanjer was the only one who carried on the trade with abilities and success. He sent goods to Mexico; these were sold for piastres, which were carried to Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to China, where they were bartered for gold. That able man by this judicious circulation had opened a track, which it is surprising that no one has since pursued.

ALL the European nations, which sail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, go as far as China. The Portuguese were the first who landed there. The Chinese gave them the town of Macao, which was built upon a barren and rugged spot, on the point of a little island at the mouth of the river Canton, and with it a territory of about three miles in circumference. They obtained the freedom of the harbour, which is too narrow, but safe and commodious,

B O O
V.

modious, upon the condition of paying to the empire all the duties to be levied on the ships that should come in; and they purchased the liberty of building fortifications, by engaging to pay a yearly tribute of 37,500 livres *. As long as the court of Lisbon maintained the sovereignty of the Indian seas, this place was a famous mart. It declined in proportion to the power of the Portuguese, and gradually came to nothing. Macao has no longer any connection with the mother country, and fits out no more than three small vessels, one for Timor, and two for Goa. Till 1744, the remains of that once flourishing settlement still enjoyed some kind of independence. The murder of a Chinese determined the viceroy of Canton to apply to his court for a magistrate to instruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; these were the words of his petition. The court sent a Mandarin, who took possession of the town in the name of his master. He scorned to live among foreigners, who are always held in great contempt, and fixed his residence at the distance of a league from the town.

THE Dutch met with worse contempt about a century ago. Those republicans, who, notwithstanding the superiority they had gained in the Asiatic seas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portuguese, at last got access to the ports of that empire. Not content with the precarious footing they had obtained there, they

* 1640 l. 12 s. 6 d.

attempted

attempted to erect a fort near Hoaungpon, under pretence of building a warehouse. It is said, their design was to make themselves masters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to give law both to the Chinese and to foreigners who were desirous of trading to Canton. Their views were discovered too soon for their interest. They were all massacred; and it was a great while before any of their nation could venture to appear again upon the coasts of China. They were seen there again about the year 1730. The first ships that arrived there came from Java. They brought various commodities of the growth of India in general, and of their own colonies in particular, and bartered them for those of the country. The commanders of these vessels, wholly intent upon pleasing the council of Batavia, from which they immediately received their orders, and expected their promotion, had nothing in view but to dispose of the merchandise they were intrusted with, without attending to the quality of that they received in return. The company soon found, that in consequence of this proceeding they never could support themselves against their competitors. This consideration determined them to send ships directly from Europe with money. They touch at Batavia, where they take in such commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better ladings than formerly, but not so good as those of the English.

Of all the nations that have traded to China, the English have been the most constant. They had

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

had a factory in the island of Chusan, at the time when affairs were chiefly transacted at Amoy. When it was removed to Canton, this factory still continued as before. As their company were required to export woollen cloths, they determined to keep agents constantly at this place to dispose of them. This custom of the English, joined to the great demand for tea in their settlements, made them, towards the end of the last century, masters of almost all the trade carried on between China and Europe. The heavy duties, laid by the British government on that foreign production, at last made other nations, and France in particular, sensible of the advantages of this commerce.

FRANCE had formerly a particular company for the trade of China in 1660. A rich merchant of Rouen, named Fernand, was at the head of the undertaking. He had computed that it could not be well carried on with less than a capital of 220,000 livres*, and the subscriptions amounting only to 140,000 †, occasioned the ill success of the voyage. The aversion, naturally entertained for a people who believed that foreigners came among them for no other purpose than to corrupt their morals, and to deprive them of their liberty, was considerably increased by the losses that were sustained. In vain, towards the year 1685, did the Chinese alter their opinion, and consequently their behaviour. The French seldom frequent their ports. The new society formed in 1698, was not

* 2,625*l*.† 6,125*l*.

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

207

more active than the former; nor did they succeed in this trade, till it came to be united with that of India, and equally divided.

866 R
V.

THE Danes and the Swedes began to frequent the ports of China about the same time, and have acted upon the same principle as the French. The Embden company would probably have adopted it likewise, had it subsisted long enough.

THE annual purchases made by the Europeans in China, if we compute them by those of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 livres *; this sum, above four-fifths of which is laid out on the single article of tea, has been paid in piastres, or in goods carried by twenty-three ships. Sweden has furnished 1,935,168 livres † in money, and 427,500 ‡ in tin, lead, and other commodities. Denmark, 2,161,630 livres § in money, and 231,000 || in iron, lead, and gun-flints. France, 4,000,000 ** in money, and 400,000 †† in drapery. Holland, 2,735,400 ‡‡ in money, and 44,600 §§ in woollen goods, besides 4,000,150 |||| in the produce of her colonies. Great Britain, 5,443,566 livres *** in money, 2,000,475 ††† in woollen cloths, and 3,375,000 ‡‡‡ in various articles from different parts of India. All these sums together amount to 26,754,494 livres §§§. We do not include in this calculation 10,000,000 ||||

Sum laid out in purchases by the Europeans in China.

* About 1,199,000l.

† 942,571l. 6s. 3d.

‡† 17,500l.

§ 175,000l. 22s. 3d.

||† Above 147,600l.

† 24,663l. 22s.

‡ 10,106l. 3s.

§ 24,673l. 22s.

||† About 25,000l.

§§§ About 1,170,500l.

‡ 18,702l. 22s. 6d.

** 175,000l.

§§ 1,935l. 3s.

††† Above 27,000l.

|||| 437,500l.

in

Con-
jec-
tures con-
cerning
the future
state of the
trade of
Europe in
China.

in specie, which the English have carried over and above what we have mentioned, because they were destined to pay off the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a stock to trade upon the intervals between the voyages.

It is not easy to conjecture what this trade will hereafter be. Though the Chinese are so fond of money, they seem more inclined to shut their ports against the Europeans, than to encourage them to enlarge their trade. As the spirit of the Tartars has subsided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquished nation, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their aversion and contempt of foreigners. They have discovered these dispositions, by the humiliating hardships they have imposed upon them, after having treated them with great respect. The transition is but short from this precarious situation to a total expulsion. It may not be far off; and this is the more likely, as there is an active nation who, perhaps, is secretly contriving to effect it.

THE Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe is grown very fond of several Chinese productions. They may readily suppose, that the impossibility of procuring them from the first hand would not hinder the consumption. If all Europeans were excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their shipping is not fit for a long navigation, they would be under a necessity of carrying them to Java or to the Philippines, and then we must buy them

them of one of the two nations, to whom these colonies belong. The competition of the Spaniards is so inconsiderable, that the Dutch might be certain of engrossing the whole trade. It is hardly possible to suspect these republicans of any thing so base, but it is well known they have been guilty of greater villanies for interests of less consequence.

If the ports of China were once shut, it is probable they would be so for ever. The obstinacy of that nation would never suffer them to retract, and there is no appearance that they could be compelled to it. What measures could be taken against a state at the distance of eight thousand leagues? No government can be so absurd as to imagine, that men, after the fatigues of so long a voyage, would venture to attempt conquests in a country defended by such a number of people, however destitute of courage this nation, which has never tried its strength against the Europeans, may be supposed to be. The only way in which we could distress these people, would be by intercepting their navigation, which is an object they pay little attention to, as it neither affects their subsistence nor their conveniences.

EVEN this fruitless revenge would be practicable but for a short time. The ships employed in this piratical cruise would be driven from those latitudes one part of the year by the monsoons, and the other part by the storms they call typhons, which are peculiar to the seas of China.

HAVING thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the East

Whether
Europe
should
continue
its trade
with India.

India trade, it will not be improper to examine three questions, which naturally arise upon the subject, and have not yet been decided. 1. Whether it is adviseable to continue that trade. 2. Whether large settlements are necessary to carry it on with success. 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of charter companies. We shall discuss these points with impartiality, as we have no other concern in the cause, but the interest of mankind.

WHOEVER considers Europe as forming but one body, the members of which are united in one common interest, or at least in the same kind of interest, will not hesitate to pronounce, whether her connections with Asia are advantageous or not. The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments. It procures us wholesome and agreeable liquors, conveniences of a more refined nature, more splendid furniture, some new pleasures, and a more comfortable existence. Such powerful incentives have had the same influence upon those nations, who, from their situation, activity, good fortune in making discoveries, and boldness in enterprizes, can procure these enjoyments for themselves at their very source; as upon those who are unable to acquire them, unless through the channel of the maritime states, whose navigation enabled them to disperse the superfluities of their enjoyments over the whole continent. The Europeans have been so eager in their pursuit after these foreign luxuries, that neither the highest duties, the strictest prohibitions, nor the severest penalties, have been

been able to restrain it. Every government, after having in vain tried to subdue this inclination, which only increased by opposition, has been forced at last to yield to it; though general prejudices, which were strengthened by time and custom, made them consider this compliance as detrimental to the stability of the common good.

BUT the time was come, when it became necessary to remove the restraints. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it is beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to those of our own? Universal society exists as well for the common interest of the whole, as by the mutual interest of all the individuals that compose it. An increase of felicity must, therefore, result from a general intercourse. Commerce is the exercise of that valuable liberty, to which nature has invited all men; which is the source of their happiness, and indeed of their virtues. We may even venture to assert, that men are never so truly sensible of their freedom as they are in a commercial intercourse; nor is any thing so conducive to it as commercial laws: and one particular advantage derived from this circumstance is, that as trade produces liberty, so it contributes to preserve it.

WE must be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine that, in order to make him happy, he must be debarred from enjoyments. We grant, that the being accustomed to want the conveniences of life lessens the sum of our misfortunes; but by diminishing our pleasures in a greater proportion than our pains, we are rather brought to a state

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of insensibility than of happiness. If nature has given man a heart susceptible of tender impressions; if his imagination is for ever involuntarily employed in search of ideal and delusive objects of happiness; it is fit that his restless mind should have an infinite variety of enjoyments to pursue. But let reason teach him to be satisfied with such things as he can enjoy, and not to be anxious for those that are out of his reach; this is true wisdom. But to require, that reason should make us voluntarily reject what it is in our power to add to our present happiness, is to contradict nature, and to subvert the first principles of society.

How shall we persuade man to be content with the few indulgences that moralists think proper to allow him? How shall we ascertain the limits of what is necessary, which varies according to his situation in life, his attainments, and his desires? No sooner had his industry facilitated the means of procuring a subsistence, than the leisure he gained by this was employed in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his pleasures. Hence arose all his factitious wants. The discovery of a new species of sensations excited a desire of preserving them, and a propensity to find out others. The perfection of one art introduced the knowledge of several others. The success of a war, occasioned by hunger or revenge, suggested the notion of conquest. Navigation put men under a necessity of destroying one another, or of forming a general union. Commercial treaties between nations parted by the seas, and social compacts
between

between men dispersed upon the earth, bore an exact resemblance to each other. These several relations began by contests, and ended by associations. War and navigation have occasioned a mutual communication between different people and different colonies. Hence men became connected with each other by dependence or intercourse. The refuse of all nations, mixing together during the ravages of war, are improved and polished by commerce; the intent of which is, that all nations should consider themselves as one great society, whose members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniences of the rest. Commerce, in its object and in the means employed to carry it on, supposes an inclination and a liberty between all nations to make every exchange that can contribute to their mutual satisfaction. The inclination and the liberty of procuring enjoyments are the only two springs of industry, and the only two principles of social intercourse among men.

Those who censure the trade of Europe with India, have only the following reasons to alledge against an universal and free intercourse; that it is attended with a considerable loss of men; that it checks the progress of our industry; and that it lessens our stock of money. These objections are easily obviated.

As long as every man shall be at liberty to chuse a profession, and to employ his abilities in any manner most agreeable to himself, we need not be solicitous about his destiny. As in a state of freedom every thing has its proper value, no

man will expose himself to any danger, without expecting an equivalent. In a well-regulated society, every individual is at liberty to do what is most conformable to his inclination and his interest, provided it is not inconsistent with the properties and liberties of others. A law, that should prohibit every trade in which a man might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to starve, and would deprive society of numberless advantages. We need not pass the Line to carry on a dangerous trade; since, even in Europe, we may find many occupations far more destructive to the human race than the navigation to India. If the perils attending sea-voyages destroy some of our men, let us only give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be so much increased, that we shall be better able to spare those self-devoted victims who are swallowed up by the sea. To this we may add, that most of those who perish in long voyages are lost through accidental causes, which might easily be prevented by more wholesome diet and a more regular life. But if men will add, to the vices prevalent in their own climate, and to the corruption of their own manners, those of the countries where they land, it is no wonder if they cannot resist these united principles of destruction.

EVEN supposing that the India trade should cost Europe as many men as it is said to do, are we certain that this loss is not compensated by the labours to which that trade gives rise, and which encourage and increase our population? Would

not

not the men, dispersed upon the several ships continually sailing in these latitudes, occupy a place upon land which is now left vacant for others? If we consider attentively the number of people contained in the small territories of maritime powers, we shall be convinced, that it is not the navigation to Asia, nor even navigation in general, that is detrimental to the population of Europe: but, on the contrary, navigation alone may, perhaps, balance all the causes that tend to the destruction and decrease of mankind. Let us now endeavour to remove the fears of those who apprehend that the India trade lessens the number of our manufactures at home, and the profits arising from them.

ADMITTING it true, that it had put a stop to some of our labours, it has given rise to many more. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of sugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of our manufactures are supported by India silk and cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine china; if Valencia manufactures Pekins superior to those of China; if Switzerland imitates the muslins and worked callicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegance; if so many stuffs, formerly unknown in our climates, now employ our best artists; are we not indebted to India for all these advantages?

LET us proceed further, and suppose that we are not indebted to Asia for any of our improvements, the consumption we make of its commodities cannot therefore be detrimental to our industry; for we pay for them with the produce of our own

manufactures exported to America. I sell a hundred livres worth of linen to the Spaniard, and send that money to the East Indies. Another sends the same quantity of the linen itself. We both bring home tea. In fact, we are both doing the same thing; we are changing a hundred livres worth of linen into tea: the only difference is, that the one does it by two transactions, and the other by a single one. Suppose the Spaniard, instead of giving me money, had given me goods that were saleable in India, I should not have hindered our artificers by carrying them thither. Is it not the very same thing as if I had carried our own produce thither? I sail from Europe with the manufactures of my own country; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piastres; I carry those piastres to India, and bring home things that are either useful or agreeable. Have I been the means of restraining the industry of my country? Far from it; I have extended the consumption of its produce, and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. But what misleads the opposers of the India trade is, that the piastres are brought over to Europe before they are carried to Asia. And, lastly, whether the money is or is not employed as the intermediate pledge of exchange, I have either directly or indirectly made an exchange with Asia, and bartered goods for goods, my manufactory for theirs, my productions for their productions.

BUT it is objected by some discontented men, that India has at all times swallowed up all the treasures of the universe. Ever since chance has taught

taught men the use of metals, say these censurers, they have never ceased to search for them. Avarice, ever restless, has not forsaken these barren rocks, where nature has wisely concealed those insidious treasures. Since they were taken out of the bowels of the earth, they have constantly been diffused upon it; and notwithstanding the extreme opulence of the Romans, and of some other nations, they have disappeared from Europe, Africa, and some parts of Asia. India hath entirely absorbed them. Riches are all taking the same course; passing on continually from west to east, and never returning. It is therefore for India that the mines of Peru have been opened, and for the Indians that the Europeans have been guilty of so many crimes in America. Whilst the Spaniards are lavishing the lives of their slaves in Mexico, to obtain silver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take still more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potosi should be exhausted, we must go in search for it on the coast of Malabar where we have sent it. When we have drained India of its pearls and spices, we shall, perhaps, by force of arms recover from them the sums those luxuries have cost us. Thus shall our cruelties and caprices remove the gold and silver into other climes, where avarice and superstition will again bury them under ground.

THESE complaints are not altogether groundless. Even since the rest of the world have opened a communication with India, they have constantly exchanged gold and silver for arts and commodities. Nature has supplied the Indians the few necessaries they

they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries; and their religion gives them an abhorrence for some things that we feed upon. As their customs, manners, and government, have continued the same, notwithstanding the revolutions that have overturned their country, we must not expect they should ever alter. India ever was, and ever will be, what it now is. As long as any trade is carried on there, money will be brought in, and goods sent out. But before we exclaim against the abuse of this trade, we should attend to its progress, and consider what is the result of it.

FIRST, it is certain our gold does not go to India. It has gold of its own, besides a constant supply from Monomotapa, which comes by the eastern coast of Africa, and by the Red Sea; from the Turks, which is brought by the way of Arabia and Bassora; and from Persia, which is conveyed both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous mass is never increased by the gold we procure from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. In short, we are so far from carrying gold to Asia, that for a long while we carried silver to China to barter it against gold.

EVEN the silver which India gets from us is by no means so considerable as may be imagined from the immense quantity of Indian goods we bring home. The annual sale of these goods has of late years amounted to a hundred and fifty millions *. Supposing they have cost but half of what they

fold for, seventy-five millions* must have been sent to India to purchase them, besides what must have been sent over for our settlements. We shall not scruple to affirm, that, for some time past, all Europe has not carried thither more than twenty-four millions † a year. Eight millions‡ are sent from France, six || from Holland, three § from England, three ** from Denmark, two †† from Sweden, and two ‡‡ from Portugal.

THIS calculation will not appear improbable, if we consider, that though in general India is in no want either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet they receive from us, in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and other less articles, to the full amount of one-fifth of the commodities we buy there.

THIS mode of payment is augmented by the produce of the European settlements in Asia. The most considerable are those of the spice islands for the Dutch, and of Bengal for the English.

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India contribute also to lessen the exportation of our specie. Those industrious men deposit their stock in the coffers of their own country, or of some other nation, to be repaid them in Europe, whither they all return sooner or latter. So that a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country.

PARTICULAR events also put us sometimes in possession of the treasures of the east. It is undeniable, that by the revolutions in the Decan and

* 3,281,250 l.	† 1,050,000 l.	‡ 350,000 l.
262,500 l.	§ 131,250 l.	** 131,250 l.
†† 87,500 l.	‡‡ 87,500 l.	

Bengal,

Bengal, and by disposing of these empires at pleasure, the French and the English have obtained the wealth accumulated for so many ages. It is evident that those sums, joined to others less considerable, which the Europeans have acquired by their superior skill and bravery, must have retained a great deal of specie among them, which otherwise would have gone into Asia.

THAT rich part of [the world has even restored to us some of the treasure we had poured into it. The expedition of Kouli Khan into India is universally known; but it is not equally so, that he wrested from the effeminate and cowardly people of this country upwards of 2,000,000,000 * in specie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone contained inestimable and innumerable treasures. The presence chamber was covered with plates of gold; the ceiling was set with diamonds. Twelve pillars of massive gold, adorned with pearls and precious stones, surrounded the throne, the canopy of which was remarkably beautiful, and represented a peacock, with wings and tail extended to overshadow the monarch. The diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and all the sparkling gems which composed this curious piece of workmanship, perfectly imitated the colours of this beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is returned into India. Much of the treasure brought to Persia from the conquest of the Mogul, must have been buried under ground during the subsequent wars; but the

several branches of commerce must certainly have brought some to Europe through such channels as are too well known to make it necessary to specify them.

ADMITTING that none of these riches have reached us, the opinion of those who condemn the trade of India, because it is carried on with specie, will not be better supported, which may be easily proved. Gold and silver are not the produce of our soil, but of America, and sent us in exchange for the productions of our own country. If Europe did not remit them to Asia, America would soon be unable to return any to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would so reduce its value, that the nations who bring it to us could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty shillings*, rises to a pistole †, the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country which produces silver. The working of their mines is expensive. When this expence shall have increased to ten times that sum, and the value of silver is still the same, the business of working in the mines will be more costly than profitable to the owners, who will consequently give it up. No more gold and silver will come from the new world to the old; and the Americans will be obliged to neglect their richest mines, as they have gradually forsaken the less valuable ones. This event would have taken place before, if they had not found a way of disposing of about 3,000,000,000‡ in Asia, by the Cape of Good

* 10d. ½

† 16s. 9d.

‡ 131,250,000l.

An inquiry
whether it
is necessary,
that the Europeans
should have large
establishments in
India, in
order to
carry on
the trade.

Hope, or by the Philippine islands. Therefore this circulation of money into India, which so many prejudiced persons have hitherto considered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by supporting the only manufacture she has, and to other nations, who without it could never have disposed of their produce, or of the fruits of their industry. Having thus justified the India trade, we shall next proceed to inquire whether it has been conducted on the principles of sound policy.

ALL the nations in Europe, who have sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at founding great empires in Asia. The Portuguese, who led the way to those wealthy regions, first set us the example of a boundless ambition. Not content with having made themselves masters of the islands in which the choicest productions were to be found, and erected fortresses wherever they were necessary to secure to themselves the navigation of the east, they aspired also to the authority of giving laws to Malabar, which, being divided into several petty sovereignties, that were jealous of, or at enmity with each other, was forced to submit to the yoke.

The Spaniards did not at first shew more moderation; even before they had completed the conquest of the Philippine islands, which were to be the centre of their power, they strove to extend their dominion further. If they have not since subdued the rest of that immense Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we must look for the cause of their tranquillity

quillity in the treasures of America, which confined their pursuits, though they did not satisfy their desires.

THE Dutch deprived the Portuguese of their most considerable posts on the continent, and drove them out of the spice islands. They have preserved those possessions, and some later acquisitions, only by establishing a form of government less oppressive than that of the nations on whose ruins they were rising.

THE slowness and irresolution of the French in their proceedings prevented them for a considerable time from forming or executing any great projects. As soon as they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they availed themselves of the subversion of the power of the Moguls to usurp the dominion of Coromandel. They obtained by conquest, or by artful negotiations, a more extensive territory than any European power had ever possessed in Indostan.

THE English, more prudent, did not attempt to aggrandise themselves, till they had deprived the French of their acquisitions, and till no rival nation could act against them. The certainty of having none but the natives of the country to contend with, determined them to attack Bengal. This was the province of all India which afforded most commodities fit for the markets of Asia and Europe, and was likely to consume most of their manufactures : it was also that which their fleet could most effectually protect, as it hath the advantage of a great river. They have succeeded in their plan of conquest,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

quest, and flatter themselves they shall long enjoy the fruits of their victory.

THEIR successes, and those of the French, have astonished all nations. It is easy to conceive how solitary and defenceless islands, that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been subdued. But it is very astonishing, that five or six hundred Europeans should at this time have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mohammedans, mostly skilled in the art of war. These extraordinary scenes, however, ought not to appear surprising to any one who considers what has happened before.

THE Portuguese had no sooner appeared in the east, than with a few ships and a few soldiers they subverted whole kingdoms. The establishment of some factories, and the building of a small number of forts, was sufficient to enable them to crush the powers of India. When the Indians were no longer oppressed by the first conquerors, they were so by those who expelled and succeeded them. The history of these delightful regions was no longer the history of the natives, but that of their tyrants.

BUT what singular men must these have been, who never could gather any improvement from experience and adversity; who surrendered themselves to their common enemy without making any resistance, and who never acquired skill enough from their continual defeats to repulse a few adventurers, cast as it were from the sea upon their coasts! It is a matter of doubt whether these men, alternately deceived and subdued by those who at-
tacked

tacked them, were not of a different species. To resolve this problem, we need only trace the causes of this weakness in the Indians; and our first inquiry shall turn upon that system of despotism with which they are oppressed.

BOOK
V.

THERE is no nation, which, as it becomes civilized, does not lose something of its virtue, courage, and independence; and it is evident that the inhabitants of the south of Asia, having been first collected into societies, must have been the earliest exposed to despotism. Such has been the progress of all associations from the beginning of the world. Another truth, equally evident from history, is, that all arbitrary power hastens its own destruction; and that revolutions will restore liberty, sooner or later, as they are more or less rapid. Indostan is perhaps the only country, in which the inhabitants, after having once lost their rights, have never been able to recover them. Tyrants have frequently been destroyed; but tyranny has always supported itself.

CIVIL slavery has been added in India to political slavery. The Indian is not master of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his agents. He is not master of his own understanding; he is debarred from all studies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed such as tend to enslave him. He is not master of his own field; the lands and their produce belong to the sovereign, and the labourer may be satisfied if he can earn enough to subsist himself and family. He is not master of his own industry; every artist, who has had the mis-

VOL. II. X fortune

fortune to betray some abilities, is in danger of being doomed to serve the monarch, his deputies, or some rich man who has purchased a right to employ him as he pleases. He is not master of his own wealth: he buries his gold under ground, to secure it from the rapacious hand of power; and leaves it there at his death, absurdly imagining it will be of service to him in the next world. No doubt this absolute and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is every where oppressed, must subdue his spirit, and render him incapable of those efforts that courage requires.

THE climate of Indostan is another impediment to any generous exertions. The indolence it inspires is an invincible obstacle to great revolutions and vigorous oppositions, so common in the northern regions. The body and the mind, equally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of slavery. In the second, or at furthest in the third generation, Tartars, Turks, Persians, and even Europeans, contract the slothful disposition of the Indians. These influences of the climate might certainly be subdued by religious or moral institutions; but the superstitions of the country will not admit of such exalted views. They never promise future rewards to the generous patriot, who falls in his country's cause. While they advise, and sometimes command suicide, by representing in a strong light the alluring prospect of future happiness, they at the same time strictly forbid the effusion of blood.

THIS circumstance is a necessary consequence of the doctrine of transmigration, which must inspire
its

its followers with constant and universal benevolence. They are in continual fear of injuring their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man reconcile himself to the idea of being a soldier, when he can say, Perhaps the elephant or the horse I am going to destroy may contain the soul of my father—perhaps the enemy I shall kill has formerly been the chief of my family? Thus, in India religion tends to keep up the spirit of cowardice which results from despotism and the nature of the climate; the manners of the people contribute still more to increase it.

In every country, love is the ruling passion, but it is not equally strong in every climate. While northern nations are moderate in their desires, the southern ones indulge in them with a degree of ardour superior to every restraint. The policy of princes has sometimes turned this passion to the advantage of society; but the legislators of India seem to have principally intended to increase the fatal influence of their ardent climate. The Moguls, the last conquerors of those regions, have proceeded still further. Love is with them a shameful and destructive excess, consecrated by religion, by the laws, and by government. The military conduct of the nations of Indostan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is consistent with their dissolute manners. We shall mention some particulars taken from the writings of an English officer remarkable for his military exploits in those parts.

THE soldiers make up the smallest part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his

wife, his children, and two servants; one to look after his horse, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune, and their rank. The sovereign himself, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the necessities of war, when he takes the field, carries along with him his seraglio, his elephants, his court, and almost all the inhabitants of his capital. To provide for the wants, the fancies, and the luxury of this strange multitude, a kind of town must of course be formed in the midst of the army, full of magazines and unnecessary articles. The motions of a body so unwieldy and so ill-arranged cannot but be very slow. There is great confusion in their marches, and in all their operations. However abstemious the Indians, and even the Moguls, may be, they must often experience a want of provisions; and famine is usually attended with contagious distempers, and occasions a dreadful mortality.

THESE distempers, however, seldom destroy any but recruits. Though, in general, the inhabitants of Indostan affect a strong passion for military glory, yet they engage in war as seldom as they can. Those, who have been so successful in battle as to obtain some marks of distinction, are excused from serving for some time; and there are few that do not avail themselves of this privilege. The retreat of these veterans reduces the army to a contemptible body of soldiers, levied in haste in the several provinces of the empire, and who are utterly unacquainted with discipline.

THE nature of the provisions on which these troops subsist, and their manner of living, is entirely consistent with this improper mode of raising them. At night they eat a prodigious quantity of rice; and after this meal they take strong opiates, which throw them into a deep sleep. Notwithstanding this pernicious custom, no guards are placed about their camp to prevent a surprize; nor is it possible to make a soldier rise early even to execute any enterprize that may require the greatest dispatch.

THE military operations are regulated by birds of prey, of which there are always a great number in the army. If they are found heavy or languid, it is an unfavourable omen, and prevents the army from giving battle: if they are fierce and violent, the troops march out to action, whatever reasons there may be for avoiding or deferring it. This superstition, as well as the observance of lucky and unlucky days, determines the fate of the best-concerted designs.

No order is observed in marching. Every soldier goes on as he pleases, and only follows the corps to which he belongs. He is frequently seen carrying his provisions upon his head, with the vessels for dressing them; whilst his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by several children. If a foot-soldier has any relations, or business to transact, in the enemy's army, he is under no apprehension in going to it; and returns to join his colours without meeting with the least opposition.

THE action is not better conducted than the preparations for it. The cavalry, in which consists the whole strength of an Indian army (for the infantry are held in general contempt), are useful enough in charging with the sword and spear, but can never stand the fire of cannon and musquetry. They are afraid of losing their horses, which are mostly Arabian, Persian, or Tartar, and in which their whole fortune consists. The troops that compose this cavalry are held in great esteem, and well paid: they are so fond of their horses, that sometimes they will go into mourning upon losing them.

THE Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own; though they neither know how to transport it, nor how to make use of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous names, are generally of a very extraordinary size, and rather prevent than assist the gaining of a victory.

THOSE who are ambitious of being distinguished intoxicate themselves with opium, imagining that it warms the blood, and animates them to the performance of heroic actions. In this temporary state of intoxication, they bear a greater resemblance, in their dress and impotent rage, to women actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, than to men of courage and resolution.

THE prince who commands these despicable troops is always mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, where he is at once the general and the standard of the whole army, whose eyes are fixed upon him. If he flies, he is slain; the whole machine

machine is destroyed; the several corps disperse, or go over to the enemy.

BOOK
V.

THIS description, which we might have enlarged upon without exaggeration, renders probable the account given of our successes in Indostan. Many Europeans, judging of what might be effected in the inland parts by what has been done on the coasts, imagine we might safely undertake the conquest of the whole country. This extreme confidence arises from the following circumstance: that in places where the enemy could not harass their troops in the rear, nor intercept their succours, they have overcome timorous weavers and merchants, undisciplined and cowardly armies, weak princes jealous of each other and perpetually at war with their neighbours or their own subjects. They do not consider, that, if they wanted to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all perish before they had proceeded half way up the country. The excessive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberless diseases, want of provision, and a variety of other causes, would soon considerably diminish their numbers, even though they had nothing to apprehend from those troops that might molest them.

WE will suppose, however, that ten thousand European soldiers had actually over-run and ravaged India from one end to the other: what would be the consequence? would these forces be sufficient to secure the conquest, to keep every nation, every province, every district, in order? And if this number is not sufficient, let it be calculated what number of troops would be necessary for the purpose.

BUT let us admit that the conquerors had firmly established their government in India, they would still reap very little advantage from this circumstance. The revenues of Indostan would be spent in Indostan itself. The European power, that had pursued this project of usurpation, would have experienced nothing but a considerable decrease in its population, and the disgrace of having followed a visionary system.

THIS, indeed, is now an useless question, since the Europeans themselves have made their success in Indostan more difficult than ever. By engaging the natives to take a part in their mutual dissensions, they have taught them the art of war, and trained them to arms and discipline. This error in politics has opened the eyes of the sovereigns of those countries, whose ambition has been excited to establish regular troops. Their cavalry marches in better order; and their infantry, which was always considered in so despicable a light, has now acquired the firmness of our battalions. A numerous and well-managed artillery defends their camps, and protects their attacks. The armies, composed of better troops, and better paid, have been able to keep the field longer.

THIS change, which might have been foreseen, had the Europeans not been blinded by temporary interest, may in time become so considerable, as to raise unsurmountable obstacles to the desire they have of extending their conquests in Indostan, and possibly they may lose those they have already made.

made: Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we shall next take into consideration.

BOOK
V.

WHEN the Europeans first began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many small states, some of which were governed by princes of their own nation, and some by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occasion of continual contests. Besides the wars that were carried on between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every sovereign and his subjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who, to ingratiate themselves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. These barbarians aggravated this heavy burden by the oppressions they made the inhabitants suffer. Their extortions were only another method of securing to themselves the posts they enjoyed, in a country where he is always in the right who has the most to give.

FROM this anarchy and these violent proceedings, it was imagined, that, to settle a safe and permanent commerce, it was necessary to support it by the force of arms; and the European factories were accordingly fortified. In process of time, jealousy, which divides the European nations in India, as it does every where else, exposed them to more considerable expences. Each of these foreign nations thought it necessary to augment their forces, lest they should be overpowered by their rivals.

THE dominion of the Europeans, however, extended no further than their own fortresses. Goods
were



were brought thither from the inland parts, with little difficulty, or with such as was easily overcome. Even after the conquests of Kouli-kan had plunged the north of Indostan into confusion, the coast of Coromandel enjoyed its former tranquillity. But the death of Nizam-al-Muluc, Subah of the Decan, kindled a flame which is not yet fully extinguished.

THE disposal of those immense spoils naturally belonged to the court of Dehly; but the weakness of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to dispute their father's treasure. To supplant each other, they had recourse alternately to arms, to treachery, to poison, and to assassinations. Most of the adventurers they engaged in their animosities and crimes perished during these horrid transactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who alternately sided with both parties, and often had troops in each, seemed as if they would avail themselves of this anarchy, and invade the sovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their interest to oppose this deep but secret design, and they alledge the following reasons in their defence:

THE Marattas, say they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles. They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or civil right, and spread desolation wherever they go. The most populous countries are abandoned at the very report of their approach. In the countries they have subdued, nothing is to be seen but confusion, and all the manufactures are destroyed.

THE

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

315

BOOK
V.

THE Europeans, who were most powerful on the coast of Coromandel, thought such neighbours would utterly destroy their trade; and they could never venture to send money by their agents to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be plundered by these banditti. The desire of preventing this evil, which must ruin their fortunes, and deprive them of the benefit of their settlements, suggested to their agents the idea of a new system.

It was asserted, that, in the present situation of Indostan, it was impossible to keep up useful connections without a military establishment: that, at so great a distance from the mother-country, the expence could not possibly be defrayed out of the mere profits of trade, were they ever so great: that therefore it was absolutely necessary to procure sufficient possessions to answer these great expences; and consequently that the possessions must be considerable.

THIS argument, probably suggested to conceal insatiable avarice and boundless ambition, and which the passion for conquest may have occasioned to be considered as a very strong one, may perhaps be a mere illusion. A variety of natural, moral, and political reasons may be urged in opposition to it. We shall only insist upon one, which is founded upon a fact. From the Portuguese, who first attempted to aggrandize themselves in India, to the English, who closed the fatal list of usurpers, not one acquisition, however important or rising, except Bengal and the spice islands, has ever paid the expence of taking and supporting it.

it. The more extensive the possessions have been, the greater has been the expence of maintaining them to the ambitious power that had, by whatever means, acquired them.

THIS is what will always happen. Every nation that has obtained a large territory will be desirous of preserving it. It will think there is no safety but in fortified places, and will constantly multiply them. This warlike appearance will deter the husbandman and the artist, who will not expect to enjoy tranquillity. The neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will justly be afraid of falling a prey to a trading nation now become a conquering one. In consequence of this, they will be devising means to ruin an oppressor, whom they had admitted into their harbours with no other view than to increase their own treasures and power. If they find themselves under a necessity of entering into a treaty, they will at the instant of signing secretly vow the destruction of their new ally. Falshood will be the basis of all their agreements; and the longer they have been forced to dissemble, the more time they will have had to prepare the means destined to destroy their enemy.

THE just apprehension of these perfidies will oblige the usurpers to be always upon their guard. If they are to be defended by Europeans, what a consumption of men for the mother country! what an expence to raise them, to transport them into these countries, to maintain and recruit them! If, from a principle of oeconomy, they content themselves with the Indian troops, what can be expected from

from a confused and unprincipled multitude, whose expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and constantly end in a shameful and precipitate flight? Their principles, whether natural or moral, are so weakened, that even the defence of their gods and their own households could never inspire the boldest among them with any thing beyond a sudden and transient exertion of intrepidity. It is not probable that foreign interests, ruinous to their country, should ever animate men whose minds are sunk in indolence and corruption : is it not more probable that they will be ever ready to betray a cause they abhor, and in which they find no immediate and lasting advantage?

To these inconveniences will be added a spirit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of peace will nearly resemble the devastations of war. The agents, intrusted with those remote concerns, will be desirous of making rapid fortunes. The slow and regular profits of trade they will not attend to, but will endeavour to promote speedy revolutions in order to acquire great wealth. They will have occasioned innumerable evils before they can be controuled by authority at the distance of six thousand leagues. This authority will have no force against millions; or the persons intrusted with it will arrive too late to prevent the fall of an edifice supported on so weak a foundation.

THIS result makes it needless to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Europeans have entered into with the powers of India. If these great acquisitions are hurtful, the treaties made to procure

procure them cannot be rational. If the merchants of Europe are wise, they will forego the rage of conquest, and the flattering hopes of holding the balance of Asia.

THE court of Dehly will finally sink under the weight of intestine divisions, or fortune will raise up a prince capable of restoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become despotic. The empire will be divided into many independent states, or will be subject only to one master. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will become a ruling power; but the Europeans should not be concerned in these revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indostan, the Indians will still continue their manufactures, and we shall purchase them.

It would be needless to alledge, that the spirit which has always prevailed in those countries has forced us to depart from their common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coasts; that this position unavoidably obliges us to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours; and that, if we avoid all intercourse with them, such a reserve will certainly prove extremely detrimental to our interests. These fears will appear groundless to sensible men, who know that a war in those distant regions must be still more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives; and that the consequence will be, that we must either subdue the whole, which is scarcely possible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to maintain our connections.

THE

THE love of order and tranquillity would even make it desirable to extend these pacific views; and, far from thinking that great possessions are necessary, time will probably discover even the inutility of fortified posts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though crushed under the severe burden of despotism. The nations, who formerly traded with them, always commended them for their candor and honesty. The Indians are now in a state of confusion, equally alarming to them and to us. Our ambition has carried discord into all parts of their country, and our rapaciousness has inspired them with hatred, fear, and contempt for our continent; they look upon us as conquerors, usurpers, and oppressors, sanguinary and avaricious men. This is the character we have acquired in the east. Our examples have increased the number of their national vices, at the same time that we have taught them to be in guard against ours.

If in our transactions with the Indians we had been guided by principles of probity; if we had shewn them, that mutual advantage is the basis of commerce; if we had encouraged their cultivation, and manufactures, by exchanges equally advantageous to both; we should insensibly have gained their affections. If we had fortunately taken care to preserve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their prejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government. We should have succeeded so far as to have lived amongst them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected our settlements

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ments for our mutual interests. Every one of our establishments would have been to each nation in Europe as their native country, where they would have found a sure protection. Our situation in India is the consequence of our profligacy, and of the sanguinary systems we have introduced there. The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, because all our actions have shewn that we did not think ourselves under any ties with respect to them.

THIS state of perpetual contention is displeasing to most of the Asiatic nations, and they ardently wish for a happier change. The disorder of our affairs must have inspired us with the same sentiments. If we are all in the same dispositions, and if one common interest really inclines us to peace and harmony, the most effectual way to attain this desirable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations, who trade to India, should agree among themselves to preserve a neutrality in those remote seas, which should never be interrupted by the disturbances that so frequently happen on our own continent. If we could once consider ourselves as members of one great commonwealth, we should not want those forces which make us odious abroad, and ruin us at home. But, as our present spirit of discord will not permit us to expect that such a change can soon take place, it remains only that we now consider, whether Europe ought still to carry on the India trade by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

Whether
Europe
ought to
lay open
the trade
to India,
or carry
it on by
exclusive
charters.

If this question were to be decided upon general principles, it would be easily answered. If we ask whether, in a state which allows any particular branch of trade, every citizen has a right to partake of it; the answer is so plain as to leave no room for discussion. It would be unnatural, that subjects who share alike the burden and public expence of civil society, should not be alike partakers of the benefits arising from the compact that unites them; they would have cause to complain, that they sustain all the inconveniences of society, and are deprived of the advantages they expected to receive from it.

On the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with these ideas of justice. It is well known that freedom is the very soul of commerce, and that nothing else can bring it to perfection. It is generally allowed that competition awakens industry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet, for upwards of a century, the practice has constantly been contradictory to these principles.

ALL the nations of Europe, that trade to India, carry on that commerce by exclusive companies; and it must be confessed, that this practice is plausible, because it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations should have been under a mistake for above a hundred years on so important a point; and that neither experience nor argument should have undeceived them. We must conclude therefore that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their principles, or

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

the favourers of exclusive privilege have too strenuously asserted the necessity of such limitations; possibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their respective opinions, have been deceived, and are equally distant from the truth.

EVER since this famous question has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very simple one; it has always been supposed that an India company must necessarily be exclusive, and that its existence was essentially connected with its privilege. Hence the advocates for a free trade have asserted that exclusive privileges were odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued, on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there must be an exclusive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reasons urged against charters prove nothing against companies in general, and that the circumstances, which may render it necessary to have an India company, do not supply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonstrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful association, a company for the India trade; but that the exclusive charter is connected only with particular causes, inasmuch that the company may exist without the charter; we shall then have traced the source of the common error, and found out the solution of the difficulty.

LET us inquire what constitutes the particular nature of commercial transactions. It is the climate, the produce, the distance of places, the form of the government,

government, the genius and manners of the people who are subject to it. In the trade with India, the merchant must undertake a voyage of six thousand miles in search of the commodities which the country supplies: he must arrive there at a certain season, and wait till another for the proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the proprietors of the vessels must wait this time for their returns. This is the first and a very material circumstance.

THE nature of a government in which there is neither safety nor property will not permit the people to have any public markets, or to lay up any stores. Let us represent to ourselves men who are depressed and corrupted by despotism, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing of themselves; and, on the other hand, nature more liberal in her gifts, than power is rapacious, supplying a slothful people with food sufficient for their wants and their desires; and we shall wonder that any industry should be found in India. And indeed it may be affirmed, that scarce any manufacture would be carried on there, if the workmen were not encouraged by ready-money, or if the goods were not engaged for a year before they are wanted. One third of the money is paid at the time the work is ordered, another when it is half done, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. From this mode of payment there is a considerable difference made, both in price and in the quality of the goods; but from hence likewise arises a necessity of having one's capital out a year longer,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

that is, three years instead of two. This is an alarming circumstance for a private man, especially if we consider the largeness of the capital that is requisite for such undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the risques are very great, they cannot be supported without bringing home complete cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres*, at prime-cost in India. Where shall we find merchants, or even men possessed of a sufficient capital to enable them to advance such a sum, to be reimbursed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe; and among those who might have the power, scarce any would have the will. If we consult experience, we shall find that men of moderate fortunes only are the persons who are inclined to run great risques, in order to make great profits. But when once a man is possessed of an ample fortune, he is inclined to enjoy it, and to enjoy it with security. The desire of riches cannot indeed be satisfied by the possession of them, which, on the contrary, frequently increases it; but, at the same time, the possession of wealth furnishes various means of gratifying that desire without either trouble or danger. This opens to our view the necessity of entering into associations, where a number of men will not scruple to be concerned, because every individual will venture but a small part of his fortune, and will rate the measure of his profits upon the united stock of the whole society. This necessity will

* About 54,700l. on an average.

appear still more evident, if we consider how the business of buying and selling is managed in India, and what precautions it requires. BOOK
V.

To make a previous agreement for a cargo, above fifty different agents must be employed, who are dispersed in different parts, at the distance of three, four, and five hundred leagues from each other. When the work is done, it must be examined and measured; otherwise the goods would soon be found faulty, from the want of honesty in the workmen, who are equally corrupted by the nature of their government, and by the influence of crimes of every kind which the Europeans have set them the example of for these three centuries past.

AFTER all these details, there are still other operations remaining equally necessary. There must be whitsters, men to beat the linens, packers, and bleaching-grounds, which must be supplied with pools of water fit for the purpose. It would certainly be very difficult for individuals, to attend and to observe all these precautions; but even admitting it possible for industry to effect this, yet it could only be done as long as each of them could keep up a continued trade, and regularly ship off fresh cargoes. All these particulars are not to be executed in a short time, and not without established connections. Every private man, therefore, should be able to fit out a ship annually during three years, that is, to disburse four millions of livres *. This is evidently impossible; and

* 175,000l.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

it is plain that such an undertaking can only be carried into execution by a society.

BUT, perhaps, some commercial houses will be established in India, on purpose to transact this previous business, and to keep cargoes in readiness for the ships that are to be sent off to Europe.

THIS establishment of trading-houses at six thousand leagues from the mother-country, with the immense stock that would be requisite to pay the weavers in advance, seems to be a visionary scheme, inconsistent with reason and experience. Can it be seriously imagined that any merchants, who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will transmit it to Asia to purchase a stock of muslins, in expectation of ships that, perhaps, may never arrive, or, if they should, may be but few in number, and may not have a sufficient capital to purchase with? On the contrary, we see that every European, who has made a small fortune in India, is desirous of returning home; and, instead of endeavouring to increase it by those easy methods that private trade and the service of the companies offers in that country, he is rather anxious to come and enjoy it with tranquillity in his own.

IF other proofs and examples were necessary, we need only attend to what passes in America. If we could suppose that commerce, and the hopes of the profits arising from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be in order to settle in that part of the world which is much nearer than Asia, and where they would find the same laws and manners

as in Europe. It might naturally be supposed that the merchants should previously buy up the sugars of the planters, and keep them in readiness to be delivered to the European ships as soon as they arrive, on receiving other commodities in exchange, which they would afterwards sell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary. The merchants settled in America are nothing more than commissaries or factors, who transact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans; and are so far from being able to carry on any considerable trade on their own account, that, when a ship has not met with an opportunity of disposing of her lading, it is left in trust, on the account of the owner, in the hands of the commissary to whom it was consigned. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude, that what is not practised in America would still be less so in Asia, where a larger stock would be wanted, and greater difficulties must be encountered. Add to this, that the supposed establishment of commercial houses in India would not supercede the necessity of forming companies in Europe; because it would be equally necessary to disburse twelve or fifteen hundred thousand livres * for the fitting out of every ship, which could never return into the stock till the third year at soonest.

THIS necessity being once proved in every possible case, it is manifest that the trade of India is of such a nature, that very few merchants, if any, can undertake it upon their own bottom, or

* About 60,000*l.* on an average.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

carry it on by themselves, and without the help of a great number of partners. Having demonstrated the necessity of these societies, we must now endeavour to prove, that their interest and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the same company.

THIS proposition depends upon two principal reasons: the danger of competition in the purchases and sales, and the necessity of assortments.

THE competition of buyers and sellers reduces the commodities to their just value. When the competition of sellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods sell for less than they are worth; and, when there are more buyers than sellers, their price is raised beyond their ordinary value. Let us apply this to the India trade.

WHEN we suppose that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ships sent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increase the competition on the side of the buyers; whereas it is not in our power to increase it on the side of the sellers. It is just the same as if we were to advise a number of traders to bid over one another, in order to obtain their goods at a cheaper rate.

THE Indians scarce make any consumption of the produce either of our lands or of manufactures. They have few wants, little ambition, and no great share of industry. They would readily dispense with the gold and silver of America, which is so far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only serves to support the tyranny under
which

which they are oppressed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, while those we buy there are of great value. As long as no Indian ships come into our harbours to carry away our stuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm that those people are not in want of us, and will consequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us. Hence it follows, that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will rise, and our own sink, in value; and that at last it will be only by immense exports that we shall be able to procure any India goods at all. But if, in consequence of this order of things, each particular society is obliged to export more money, without bringing home more goods, its trade must be very disadvantageous, and the same competition that began its ruin in Asia will complete it in Europe; because the number of sellers being then greater, while that of buyers still continues the same, the societies will be obliged to sell at a lower price, after having bought at an advanced one.

THE article of assortments is not of less consequence. By assortments is meant the combination of all the several sorts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the present plenty or scarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe. On this chiefly depends the success and all the profits of the trade.

But

But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private societies than this assortment. How, indeed, should these small societies, unconnected with each other, whose interest it is to conceal their mutual transactions, acquire the knowledge that is requisite for this important purpose? How could they direct such a multitude of agents as must be employed? It is plain that the supercargoes and commissaries, incapable of general views, would be all asking for the same sort of goods at the same time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of course enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe, to the great detriment of the owners, and of the nation in general.

ALL these considerations would certainly be perceived by the captains of ships and by the men of property, who would be solicited to enter into these societies. They would be discouraged by the fear of having a competition with other societies, either in the purchase, the sale, or the making-up of the assortments. The number of these societies would soon be reduced; and trade, instead of extending, would constantly decline, and at last be entirely lost.

It would, therefore, be for the interest of these private societies, as we have before observed, to unite together; because then all their agents, both on the coast of Coromandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one consistent system, would jointly labour in the several factories to collect proper assortments for the cargoes that were to be sent away from the
chief

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

331

BOOK
V.

chief factory, so that the whole should make a complete assortment when brought home, being collected upon an uniform plan, and proportioned according to the orders and instructions sent from Europe.

BUT it would be in vain to expect that any such union could take place without the assistance of government. In some cases, men require to be encouraged; and it is chiefly, as in the present instance, when they are afraid of being denied that protection which they stand in need of, or apprehensive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them. Government would find it their interest to encourage this association, as it is certainly the surest, if not the only way, to procure, at the most reasonable prices, the India goods that are wanted for home-consumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more striking from a very simple instance.

LET us suppose a merchant, who freights a ship for India with a considerable stock. Will he commission several agents at the same place to buy the goods he wants? This cannot reasonably be supposed; because he will be sensible, that, each of them endeavouring to execute his orders with as much secrecy as possible, they would necessarily injure one another, and must consequently enhance the price of the goods; so that he would have a less quantity of the commodity for the same sum than if he had employed but one agent. The application is easy; government is the merchant, and the company is the agent,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

WE have now proved only that in the India trade the nature of things requires that the subjects of one country should unite into one company, both for their own interest and for that of the state; but nothing has yet appeared, from whence it can be inferred that this company must be an exclusive one. We imagine, on the contrary, that the exclusive privilege always granted to these companies depends on particular causes, which have no essential connection with this trade.

WHEN the several nations in Europe began to find that it was their interest to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refused to do, though none were excluded from it, they found themselves under a necessity of forming companies, and giving them every encouragement that so difficult an undertaking required. Capitals were advanced to them; they were invested with all the attributes of sovereign power; permitted to send ambassadors; and empowered to make peace and war; a privilege which, unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have too often exercised. It was found necessary at the same time to secure to them the means of indemnifying themselves for the expences of settlements, which must be very considerable. This gave rise to exclusive privileges, which at first were granted for a term of years; and afterwards made perpetual, from circumstances which we shall now explain.

THE brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were in fact so many impediments to trade. The right of having fortresses implied the

the necessity of building and defending them ; that of having troops implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. It was the same with regard to the permission of sending ambassadors, and concluding treaties with the Indian princes. All these privileges were attended with expences merely of parade, fit only to check the progress of trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors sent by the companies into India, who on their arrival fancied themselves sovereigns, and acted accordingly.

NATIONS, however, found it very convenient to have some kind of settlements in Asia, which apparently were attended with no cost ; and as it was reasonable, while the companies bore all the expences, that all the profits should be secured to them, the privileges have been continued. But if the several nations, instead of attending only to this pretended œconomy, which could be but temporary, had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which must naturally be brought about in the course of a number of years, they must have foreseen that the expences of sovereignty, which can never be ascertained, because they depend upon numberless political contingencies, would in time absorb both the profits and the stock of a trading company ; that then the publictreasury must be exhausted, to assist the chartered company ; and that this assistance, being granted too late, could only remedy the mischiefs that had already happened, without removing the cause of them ; so that the companies would never rise to any degree of importance.

BUT

BUT why should not states at length be undeceived? Why should they not take upon themselves a charge which properly belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having crushed the companies, must finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an exclusive privilege. The companies which subsist at present, and are of great importance on account of their old connections and established credit, should be supported with the greatest care. The appearance of monopoly would vanish for ever; and their freedom might enable them to pursue some new track, which they could not think of whilst they were encumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would prosper and flourish by their industry, new discoveries would be attempted, and new enterprizes formed. The trade from one part of India to another, having the certainty of a market in Europe, would become considerable and extensive. The companies, attentive to these improvements, would regulate their dealings by the success of private trade; and this emulation, which would not be injurious to any individual, would be beneficial to the several states.

WE apprehend this system would tend to reconcile all interests, and is consistent with all principles. It seems to be liable to no reasonable objection, either on the part of the advocates for the exclusive charter, or of those who contend for a free trade.

IF the former should assert, that the companies without the exclusive charter would have but a precarious existence, and would soon be ruined by private traders; I should answer them, that they were not sincere, when they affirmed that private trade could never succeed. For, if it could possibly occasion the ruin of that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can only effect this by engrossing every branch of their trade against their will, by a superiority of powers, and by the ascendent of liberty. Besides, what is it that really constitutes our companies? It is their stock, their ships, their factories, or their exclusive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Extravagant expences, abuses of every kind, visionary undertakings; in a word, bad administration, far more destructive than competition. But if the distribution of their powers is made with prudence and economy, if the spirit of property directs their operations, there is no obstacle which they cannot surmount, no success which they may not expect.

BUT would not this success give umbrage to the advocates for freedom? Would they not in their turn urge, that those rich and powerful companies would alarm private men, and in some measure destroy that general and absolute freedom which is so necessary to trade?

WE should not be surprised at this objection from them; for men, both in their actions and opinions, are more commonly guided by system than by facts. I do not except from this error the greatest part of our writers upon revenue.

Commercial

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Commercial and civil liberty are the two tutelary deities of mankind, which we all reverence as well as they. But, that we may not be influenced by mere words, let us attend to the idea they are meant to convey. Let us ask those enthusiasts for liberty, what they would wish; whether they would have the laws entirely abolish those antient companies, that every citizen might freely partake of this trade, and should equally have the same means of procuring the enjoyments of life, and the same resources to raise a fortune? But if such laws, with all their appearance of liberty, are in fact totally exclusive, let us not be induced by this false reasoning to adopt them. When the state allows all its members to carry on a trade that requires a large stock, and which consequently very few are able to undertake; I would ask, what advantage arises to the people in general from this regulation? It seems as if one meant to laugh at their credulity, in permitting them to undertake what they cannot execute. If the companies are totally suppressed, there will be no India trade, or it will be only carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further still, and, waiving the consideration of the exclusive charter, venture to affirm that the India companies, from the nature of their formation, have given opportunities to several people to become sharers in their trade, who would otherwise never have been concerned in it. Let us take a review of the number of persons, in all stations and of all ages, that are proprietors, and partake of the profits of the trade,

and it must be owned, that it would have been far more circumscribed if it had been in private hands ; that the formation of companies has only diffused while it seemed to restrain it ; and that the moderate price of the shares must be a powerful motive to the people, to wish for the preservation of an establishment, which opens to them a track from which they would for ever have been excluded by a free trade.

WE believe, indeed, that both companies and private men might equally succeed without injuring one another, or creating any mutual jealousies. The companies might still pursue those great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful association. Private men, on the contrary, would confine themselves to such objects as are scarcely attended to by a great company, but might, by proper œconomy, and the combination of many small fortunes, become a source of riches to them.

STATESMEN, who by their talents are called to the direction of public affairs, must determine this point, and rectify the ideas of an obscure citizen, who may have been misled by his want of experience. The system of politics cannot too soon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which so essentially concerns the fate of nations, and will, probably, always be an object of the greatest importance.

To put an end to all intercourse between Europe and India, that luxury, which has made such rapid progress in our part of the world, should be ba-

nished from every state. Our effeminacy should not create a thousand wants unknown to our forefathers. The rivalry of trade should no longer agitate the several nations who vie with each other in amassing riches. Such a revolution should take place in the manners, customs, and opinions of men, as is never likely to happen. We should regulate our actions according to the principles of nature, which we seem to have abandoned for ever.

SUCH are the last reflections suggested to us with respect to the connections of Europe with Asia: let us now turn our thoughts to America.

B O O K VI.

*Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico ;
and settlements of the Spaniards in that part
of the new world.*

ANTIENT history presents a magnificent scene to our view. The successive representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events, will become more and more interesting, the more uncommon it is to meet with incidents that bear any resemblance to them. The period of founding and of subverting empires is past. The man, before whom *the world was silent*, is no more. The several nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, after all the struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at length totally reconciled with the wretched tranquillity of servitude. Battles are now fought with cannon for the purpose of taking a few towns, and of gratifying the caprices of a few powerful men : formerly they were fought with the sword, in order to overthrow and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. The history of the world is become insipid and trifling ; and yet men are not become more happy. A regular and constant system of oppression has succeeded to the tumults and storms of conquest ; and we behold with a degree

BOOK
VI.
Parallel of
ancient and
modern
history.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of indifference the various ranks of slaves combating each other with their chains, for the amusement of their masters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe which has most influence over the rest, seems to have fixed itself on a solid and durable foundation. It is composed of communities that are almost equally powerful, enlightened, extensive, and jealous. They will encroach perpetually upon each other; and, in the midst of this continued fluctuation, some will be extended, others more limited, and the balance will alternately incline to different sides, without ever being entirely destroyed. The fanaticism of religion, and the spirit of conquest, those two disturbers of the universe, operate no longer. That great machine, whose extremity was attached to the earth, and whose centre of motion was in heaven, is now broken: and kings begin to discover (though not for the happiness of their people, for whom they have very little care, but for their own private interest) that the great end of government is to obtain riches and security. Hence large armies are kept up, frontiers are fortified, and trade is encouraged.

A SPIRIT of barter and exchange hath arisen in Europe, that seems to open a vast scene of speculation to individuals, but is only consistent with peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, is a conflagration that destroys them all; it is a law-suit which threatens the fortune of a great merchant, and makes all his creditors tremble. The time is not far off, when the tacit sanction of government will extend to the private
engage-

engagements between subjects of different nations; and when those bankruptcies, the effects of which are felt at immense distances, will become concerns of government. In these mercantile states, the discovery of an island, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of some useful machine, the construction of a port, the establishment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, will all become the most important transactions; and the annals of nations must hereafter be written by commercial philosophers, as they were formerly by historical orators.

THE discovery of a new world was alone sufficient to furnish matter for our curiosity. A vast continent entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal state, fields without harvests, treasures without proprietors, societies without policy, and men without manners, what an interesting and instructive spectacle would these have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, or a Montesquieu! What could have been so astonishing, so delightful, so affecting, as an account of their voyage! But the image of rude unpolished nature is already disfigured. We shall endeavour to collect the features of it, though now half effaced, as soon as we have made the reader acquainted with those rapacious and cruel christians, whom unfortunately chance conducted to this further hemisphere.

SPAIN, which was known in the first ages under the names of Hesperia and Iberia, was inhabited by people, who, defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, enjoyed in peace an

Antient
revolu-
tions of
Spain.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

agreeable climate and a fruitful country, and who governed themselves according to their own customs. The southern part of this nation had in some degree emerged from its state of barbarism, by some trifling connections it had formed with foreigners; but the inhabitants on the coasts of the ocean resembled all those nations which know no other occupation but that of the chase. They were so much attached to this kind of life, that they left the toils of agriculture to their wives; the fatigues of which they had encouraged them to support by establishing general assemblies annually, in which those women, who had most distinguished themselves in the labours of agriculture, received public applause.

SUCH was the situation of Spain, when the Carthaginians turned their rapacious views upon a country filled with riches, which were unknown to its inhabitants. These merchants, whose ships covered the Mediterranean, introduced themselves as friends, who came to barter several articles of convenience against metals that were thought to be useless. The temptations of a trade so advantageous in appearance seduced the Spaniards so powerfully, that they permitted the Carthaginians to build upon their coasts houses for their occasional residence, magazines for the security of their merchandize, and temples for the exercise of their religion. These establishments insensibly became fortified places, of which this power, whose policy was superior to its military skill, availed itself to enslave a credulous people, who were always divided among themselves, and always irreconcilable in their enmities. By
bribing

bribing some, and intimidating others, Carthage succeeded in subduing Spain, and even effected this with Spanish soldiers and Spanish wealth.

WHEN the Carthaginians were become masters of the most extensive and most valuable part of this fine country, they seemed either to be ignorant of the means of establishing their dominion there, or to neglect them. Instead of continuing to appropriate to themselves the gold and silver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly supplied from their mines, by exchanging commodities of little value for those metals, they chose to seize them by force. Nor was this spirit of tyranny confined to the body of the republic: the generals, the officers, the private men, and even the merchants, acted upon the same principle. The violence of these proceedings threw the conquered provinces into a state of despair, and excited in those which were yet free an extreme aversion for so intolerable a yoke. In this situation they all of them resolved to accept of assistance, as fatal to them as their injuries were cruel. Spain became a theatre of jealousy, ambition, and hatred, between Rome and Carthage.

THE two commonwealths contended with great obstinacy for the empire of this beautiful part of Europe; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had continued quiet spectators of the contest, and left the rival nations time to destroy each other. But they chose to become actors in the bloody scene, and thus reduced themselves to be slaves to the

Romans, in which state they remained till the fifth century.

IN a short time the degeneracy of those masters of the world inspired the savage nations of the north with the enterprising idea of invading the provinces that were ill-governed and ill-defended. The Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals, and the Goths, passed the Pyrenean mountains. These barbarians, being robbers by profession, were incapable of becoming citizens, and made war upon each other. The Goths, superior in abilities or good fortune, subdued the rest, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one; which, notwithstanding the defects in its constitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, supported itself till the commencement of the eighth century.

At this period, the Moors, who had subdued Africa with that impetuosity which was the characteristic of all their enterprizes, crossed the sea. They found in Spain a king destitute of virtue and abilities; a multitude of courtiers, and no statesmen; soldiers devoid of courage, and generals without experience; an effeminate people, holding the government in contempt, and disposed to change their master; and they also found rebels, who joined them for the sake of plundering, burning, and massacring all that opposed them. In less than three years, the sovereignty of the christians was destroyed; and that of the infidels established upon a solid foundation.

SPAIN

SPAIN was indebted to its conquerors for the first principles of taste, humanity, politeness, and philosophy; as also for introducing among them several arts, and a considerable trade. These brilliant prospects were not of long duration. They were soon dissipated by the numberless sects that arose among the conquerors, and the irreparable faults they committed in establishing distinct sovereignties in all the principal towns of their dominion.

DURING this time, the Goths, who, to screen themselves from the power of the Mohammedans, had sought an asylum in the extremity of the Asturias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous state of ignorance, oppressed by their fantastical priests, languishing under inexpressible poverty, and perpetually harrassed by civil wars. Under the influence of these calamities, far from thinking to avail themselves of the divisions subsisting among their enemies, they were sufficiently happy in being forgotten, or in not being known by them. But as soon as the crown, which was originally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as soon as the nobility and bishops became incapable of disturbing the state; and that the people raised from slavery were admitted to a share of the government; the national spirit began to revive. The Arabians, attacked on every side, were successively stripped of their conquests; and at the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

THEIR fall would have been more rapid, had they engaged with a power that could have united
in

in one common center the conquests it gained over them. But the revolution was not effected in this manner. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of a distinct state. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms as it contained provinces; and it was not till after a long time, several successions, wars, and revolutions, that these small states were at last united in the two monarchies of Castile and Arragon. After this, the marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand having happily joined all the crowns of Spain into one family, they found themselves equal to the enterprise of attacking the kingdom of Granada.

THIS state, which scarcely occupied one eighth part of the peninsula of Spain, had always been in a flourishing condition from the time of the invasion of the Saracens; but its prosperity had increased in proportion as the successes of the christians had induced a greater number of infidels to take refuge there. It consisted of three millions of inhabitants. Throughout the rest of Europe there were no lands so well cultivated; so numerous and improved manufactures; so regular and so extensive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to seven millions of livres*; a prodigious sum at a time when gold and silver were very scarce.

THESE several advantages, far from deterring the monarchs of Castile and Arragon from invading Granada, were the motives that principally incited them to the enterprise. They were obliged to carry on a ten years bloody war, in order to sub-

* About 306,000 l.

due this flourishing province. The conquest of it was completed by the surrender of the capital in the beginning of January, 1492. BOOK
VI.

It was in these glorious circumstances, that Christopher Columbus, a man of obscure birth, whose knowledge of astronomy and navigation was far superior to that of his contemporaries, proposed to the Spaniards, who were happy at home, to aggrandize themselves abroad. He was led by a secret impulse to imagine that another continent certainly existed, and that he was the person destined to discover it. The idea of Antipodes, which superstition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reason itself had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greatest that ever entered into the human mind, took strong possession of his imagination; and, having in vain proposed the acquisition of a new hemisphere to his native country Genoa, to Portugal where he then resided, and even to England, which he might have expected would readily have concurred in any maritime enterprise, he at last communicated his views and his projects to Isabella.

Columbus forms the design of discovering America.

THE ministers of this prince, who looked upon the scheme of discovering a new world as the offspring of a distempered brain, treated the author of it for some time with those airs of contemptuous insolence, which men in office often put on with those who have nothing but genius to recommend them. But Columbus was not to be discouraged by any difficulties; he possessed, as all men do who engage

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

engage in extraordinary enterprizes, a degree of enthusiasm, which renders them superior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the mean arts of the covetous, and the delays of the indolent. At length, by perseverance, spirit, and courage, joined to the arts of prudence and management, he surmounted every obstacle. Having obtained three small vessels, and ninety men, he set sail on the third of August 1492, with the title of admiral and viceroy of the islands and territories he should discover.

HAVING failed a considerable length of time, the ships crews, terrified with the idea of the immense tract of ocean which lay between them and their native country, began to despair of the success of their undertaking. The discontent rose to that height, that they more than once formed the design of throwing Columbus over-board, and returning to Spain. The admiral concealed his chagrin as long as he could: but, when he found that a mutiny was ready to break out, he assured his companions, that, if he did not discover land in three days, he would sail back to Europe. For some time past, on sounding, he had found a bottom; and from other circumstances, which are seldom deceitful, he had reason to conclude that he was not far from land.

Arrival of
Columbus
in the new
world.

THE new world was discovered in the month of October. Columbus landed on one of the Lucayas, or Bahama islands, which he called San-Salvador, and took possession of it in the name of Isabella. The Spaniards at that time did not conceive that there could be any injustice in seizing upon a country which was not inhabited by christians.

THE

THE islanders, on seeing the ships, and a race of men so different from their own, were terrified and ran away. The Spaniards caught some of them, treated them with great civility, and dismissed them loaded with presents.

THIS behaviour entirely dissipated the fears of the whole nation: the inhabitants appeared upon the shore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admiration. Their manners were free and open. They brought fruits. They assisted the Spaniards in getting on shore, by taking them upon their shoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring islands shewed the same obliging disposition. The sailors, sent by Columbus to make discoveries, every where met with the kindest reception. Men, women, and children, were employed in procuring provisions for them. They filled the hammocks where they slept with the finest cotton. But it was gold that the Spaniards wanted, and they soon found it. Several of the savages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they presented to their new guests; who on their part were more disgusted with the naked appearance and simplicity of these people, than touched with their kindness. They were incapable of discerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surprized to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals, who were only to be treated with humanity till the necessary information was obtained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the gold mines.

HAVING taken a view of several smaller islands, Columbus landed on the north side of a large one called by the natives Hayti; to which he gave the name of Hispaniola, and which is now called San Domingo: he was conducted thither by some savages of the other islands, who accompanied him without the least distrust, and gave him to understand, that it was the great island which furnished them with the metal the Spaniards were so eager to acquire.

Customs
of the
people of
Hayti,
since
known by
the name
of Hispaniola.

THE island of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and sixty and in some places eighty in breadth, is divided from east to west by a chain of mountains, which occupy the center of the island, and are for the most part steep. It was distributed into five populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which lived in perfect amity. Their kings, who were called Caciques, were so much the more absolute, as they were much beloved. The complexion of these people was much fairer than in the other islands. They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The married women wore a kind of cotton petticoat, which reached no further than their knees. The girls, as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and shell-fish. As they were temperate, nimble, and active, but not strong, they were averse from labour. They lived free from care in a state of agreeable indolence. Their time was spent in dancing, diversion, and sleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they shewed little marks of understanding; and indeed

islanders,

islanders, who live in a state of separation from the rest of mankind, must of necessity have very confined ideas. Detached societies arrive at improvement by slow and difficult advances. They derive no advantages from those discoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people: neither do the chances of acquiring knowledge occur so frequently among them.

THE Spaniards themselves confess, that these people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almost divested of any passion whatever. They were ignorant, but shewed no desire of being informed. This indifference, and the confidence they reposed in strangers, prove that they were happy. Their history, and their notions of morality, were contained in a collection of songs, which they learned from their infancy; and they had, in common with all nations, some fables concerning the origin of the human race.

WE know little of their religion, to which they were not much attached; and it is probable that in this respect, as well as in many others, they have been calumniated by the authors of their destruction; who pretend that these islanders, whose manners were so gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worshipers of a malevolent deity can never be good themselves.

THEY had no law that limited the number of their wives. It was common for one of them to have some privileges and distinctions allotted to her; but these gave her no authority over the rest. She was one whom the husband loved the best, and
by

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

by whom he thought himself best beloved. On the death of her husband, she sometimes caused herself to be buried in the same grave with him. This was not a custom, a duty, or a point of honour, among these people: but the wife found it impossible to survive the object of her tenderest affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentiousness, and vice: and to the pretended excessive indulgence of the islanders in this particular, they attributed the rise of a distemper, which, as a philosophical physician has lately demonstrated in a treatise on the origin of the venereal disease, was known in Europe before the discovery of America.

THESE islanders had no other weapons than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which being hardened in the fire was sometimes armed with sharp stones, or the bone of a fish. The ordinary dress of the Spaniards was of itself an impenetrable armour against arrows of this kind, shot with little dexterity. These weapons and some small clubs or rather large sticks, which could seldom give a mortal blow, were far from making these people formidable.

THEY were distinguished into different classes, one of which laid claim to a kind of nobility; but we are little acquainted either with the prerogatives annexed to this distinction, or with the means of obtaining it. This ignorant and savage people had also forcerers among them, who were always either the offspring or parents of superstition.

COLUMBUS

COLUMBUS omitted no attention that might engage the friendship of these islanders. But at the same time he made them sensible, that, though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power. The proofs he gave in their presence of the surprising effects of his artillery, convinced them of the truth of what he said. They looked upon the Spaniards as men descended from heaven; and the presents they received were, in their estimation, not meer curiosities, but sacred things. This error was productive of great advantages; nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty. They gave the savages red caps, glass beads, pins, knives, and bells, and received in return gold and provisions.

COLUMBUS availed himself of this harmony to fix upon a place for a settlement, which he designed should be the center of all his future projects. He erected a fort with the assistance of the islanders, who cheerfully laboured to forge chains for themselves. He left thirty-nine Castilians in the place; and, having reconnoitred the greatest part of the island, sailed for Spain.

He arrived at Palos, a port of Andalusia, from whence he had set sail seven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court resided. This journey was a triumph. The nobility and the people went to meet him, and followed him in crowds to the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella. He presented to them some islanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curiosities, which were valuable on account of their novelty. Such a va-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

riety of uncommon objects, exposed to the view of a people whose vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they saw an inexhaustible source of riches for ever flowing into their country. The enthusiasm spread, and reached even to the throne. At the public audience the sovereigns gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to sit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with caresses, commendations, and honours; and soon after he reembarked with seventeen sail, to make new discoveries, and to establish colonies.

ON his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred soldiers, three hundred artificers, missionaries, corn, fruits, and such domestic animals as were unknown in the new world; Columbus found his fortress demolished, and all the Spaniards massacred. It appeared on examination clear to Columbus, that they had drawn this misfortune upon themselves, by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour: and he had the address to persuade those who had less moderation than himself, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time. They employed themselves entirely in scrutinizing the mines, the working of which was one day to cost so much blood, and in building forts in the neighbourhood with sufficient garrisons to protect their labours.

In the mean time, the provisions that had been brought from Europe were spoilt by the damp heat of the climate; and the few hands, sent over for the purpose of raising vegetables in a country so favourable to their growth, were either dead, or disabled

Cruelties
exercised
towards
the Indians
at Hispaniola.

disabled by sickness. The military men were desired to supply their place; but they disdained an employment that was to procure them subsistence. Indolence began then to be an honourable distinction in Spain. To do nothing, was esteemed the characteristic of a gentleman; and the meanest soldier chose to live in the high stile, in a country where he found himself independent. The islanders offered them every thing, but they required more. They were perpetually asking them for provisions and gold. In short, these unfortunate people at last grew tired of gardening, hunting, fishing, and working in the mines, to gratify the insatiable Spaniards; and from that moment they were considered in no other light but that of traitors and rebellious slaves, whose lives might be taken away at pleasure.

COLUMBUS, finding that the Indians were exasperated by this barbarous treatment, returned from pursuing his discoveries, in hopes of bringing the parties to a reconciliation; but the mutinous clamours of a fierce and rapacious soldiery drove him into hostilities, which were contrary to his sentiments both as a man and as a politician. With two hundred foot and twenty horse he ventured to attack an army, said to consist of a hundred thousand men, on the spot where the city of St. Jago was afterwards built.

THE unhappy Indians were conquered before they engaged. They considered the Spaniards as beings of a superior order. Their admiration, respect, and fear, were increased by the European armour; and the sight of the cavalry in particular

astonished them beyond measure. Many of them were simple enough to believe that the man and the horse were the same animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof against these impressions of terror, they could have made but a faint resistance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a discipline to which they were strangers, must have easily dispersed them. They fled on all sides. They demanded peace; which was granted them, on condition that they should cultivate the land for the Spaniards, and furnish them with a certain quantity of gold every month.

THESE hard terms, and the cruelties that aggravated them, soon became insupportable. To screen themselves from them, the islanders took refuge in the mountains, where they hoped to procure the small subsistence their necessities required by hunting and gathering wild fruits, till their enemies, who each of them required more nourishment than ten Indians, finding themselves deprived of provisions, should be obliged to repass the seas. But they were disappointed in their expectations. The Castilians supported themselves by the supplies they received from Europe, and pursued their horrid plan with more eagerness than ever. No place was inaccessible to their rage. They trained their dogs to hunt and devour the unhappy inhabitants; and some of them made a vow to massacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve Apostles. By these means a third part of these nations was destroyed. On their arrival, the island was supposed to contain a million of inhabitants.

All

All accounts agree that this number is not exaggerated; and it is certain that the population was considerable.

Those who did not fall a prey to misery, fatigue, apprehension, and the sword, were forced to submit to the will of the conqueror, who exercised his power with more rigour, as it was not now restrained by the presence of Columbus. This great man was returned to Spain, to inform the court of the barbarities which the character of the people under his command made it impossible for him to prevent, and which the voyages he was perpetually engaged in did not allow him to controul. During his absence, the colony, which he had left under his brother's command, was torn by dissensions, animosities, and mutinies. No orders were obeyed, unless when some cacique was to be dethroned, some herd pillaged or demolished, or some nation extirpated. The moment these savage troops had got possession of the treasures of these unhappy people whom they had massacred, the disturbances were renewed. The desire of independence, and the unequal distribution of the spoils, created dissensions among these rapacious conquerors. Authority was no longer respected; the subalterns paid as little regard to their commanders, as the commanders did to the laws; and open war at last broke out among themselves.

THE Indians, who sometimes bore a part in these bloody and detestable scenes, and were always witnesses of them, recovered their courage a little. Their simplicity did not prevent them from per-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ceiving that it was by no means impracticable to rid themselves of a small number of tyrants, who appeared to have lost sight of their projects, and attended to nothing but the implacable hatred they bore to one another. Animated by this hope, they embarked in a confederacy, which was managed with more art than could have been suspected, and which had acquired considerable strength. The Spaniards, who persisted in destroying each other notwithstanding they were threatened by so great a danger, would probably have fallen victims to their own obstinacy, had not Columbus arrived from Europe at this critical juncture.

THE distinguished reception he had met with there at first had made but a transitory impression upon the people; time, which brings on reflection when the first transports of enthusiasm are passed, had dissipated that eagerness which had at first been shewn for expeditions to the new world. The report of the riches, and even the ostentatious display of the treasures brought from thence, no longer revived the spirit of the people: on the contrary, the livid complexions of all those who returned home; the severe and disgraceful distempers with which most of them were afflicted; the accounts of the unwholesomeness of the climate, of the numbers who had lost their lives, and the hardships they had undergone from the scarcity of provisions; an unwillingness to be under the command of a foreigner, who was blamed for the severity of his discipline; and, perhaps, the jealousy they entertained of his growing reputation; all these reasons contributed

to

to produce an insuperable prejudice against San Domingo in the subjects of the province of Castile, the only Spaniards who were then allowed to embark for that island.

It was absolutely necessary, however, to procure colonists; the admiral therefore proposed to have recourse to the prisons, and, by rescuing the vilest malefactors from death and infamy, to make them the instruments of extending the power of their country, of which they had been the bane and disgrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniences in such colonies as, having gained a more solid establishment, might, by the force of their laws and the purity of their manners, have restrained or corrected the excesses of a few licentious and profligate individuals; but infant states require founders of a different character from a train of banditti. America will never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debased the first colonies that were transported thither from Europe. Columbus soon experienced the ill effects of the injudicious advice he had given.

HAD this enterprising seaman carried out with him men of the common stamp, he might, during the voyage, have inspired them with honest principles at least, if not with high notions of honour. These persons on their arrival would have constituted a majority, and the rest would have been forced, or perhaps inclined, to adopt the examples of moderation and obedience they would have set them. Such a harmony would have been productive of the most salutary effects, and have esta-

blished the colony on the most solid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner, the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more easily levied. The mother-country, animated by this success to the greatest attempts, might have formed new settlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. These important events, which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this single piece of mismanagement.

THE malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the plunderers at San Domingo, formed a society the most abandoned imaginable. They were strangers to subordination, decency, and humanity. The admiral in particular was the object of their resentment, who perceived too late the false step he had taken himself; or into which, perhaps, he had been betrayed by his enemies. This extraordinary man purchased upon very hard terms the fame which his genius and industry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contrast between those incidents which either elate or depress the mind of a conqueror. He was not only continually exposed to cabals, calumnies, and the ingratitude of individuals; but was also obliged to submit to the caprices of a haughty and suspicious court, which by turns rewarded or punished, caressed or disgraced him.

THE prejudice, entertained by the Spanish ministry against the author of the greatest discovery

ever made, operated so far, that an arbitrator was sent to the new world, to decide between Columbus and his soldiers. Bovadilla, the most ambitious, self-interested, unjust, and violent man that had yet gone over to America, arrived at San Domingo, put the admiral in irons, and had him conducted to Spain like the worst of criminals. The court, ashamed of so ignominious a treatment, granted him his liberty; but without redressing the injury he had received, or restoring him to his employments. Such was the fate of this uncommon man, who, to the astonishment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been so long desolate, and so little known. It might reasonably have been expected, that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid seaman to the new hemisphere, the first discovery of which was owing to his enterprising genius. This was the least homage of respect that could be paid to his memory: but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune in the distribution of fame, this honour was reserved for Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, who did nothing more than follow the footsteps of a man whose name ought to stand foremost in the list of great characters. Thus the very æra, which added America to the known world, was distinguished by an instance of injustice, that may be considered as a fatal prelude to those scenes of violence of which this unhappy country was afterwards to be the theatre.

AFTER the disgrace of Columbus, and the death of Isabella, these abuses became more frequent.

The

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

The islanders, though condemned to the excessive labours of vassalage, which often proved fatal to them, and to pay the most exorbitant fines, had hitherto continued to live in their hords, after the manner of the country, and under the government of their caciques. In the year 1506, Ferdinand was petitioned to make a distribution of these people among the conquerors, that they might be employed in the mines, or in any other kinds of labour that tyranny might think proper to impose. Religion and political views were the two pretences made use of to palliate this inhuman plan. It was urged, that so long as these savages were tolerated in their superstitions, they would never embrace christianity; and would always be in a disposition to revolt, unless their dispersion put it out of their power to make any attempt. The monarch, relying on the opinion of the clergy, whose intolerant principles always led them into violent measures, complied with the request that was made him. The whole island was divided into a great number of districts. Every Spaniard, whether a native of Castile or Arragon, was indiscriminately allotted a larger or smaller part, in proportion to his rank, interest, or birth. The Indians assigned to each district from this instant became slaves, whose services and lives were at the disposal of their masters. This cruel system was afterwards adopted in all the settlements in the new world.

THE produce of the mines was now more certain. At first one half belonged to the crown.
This

This claim was afterwards reduced to one third, and at length limited to a fifth part.

BOOK
VI.

THE treasures brought from San Domingo excited the avarice even of those who would not venture to cross the seas. The grantees, and those who had employments in the state, obtained grants of land by which they enriched themselves without any trouble. They committed the care of them to agents who were to make their own fortunes, while they increased those of their principals. Impossible as it seemed, there was now an augmentation of cruelties. In five years after this barbarous system took place, the natives were reduced to fourteen thousand; and the continent and the adjacent islands were ransacked for savages to supply their place.

THEY were indiscriminately chained together like beasts. Those who sank under their burdens were compelled to rise by severe blows. No intercourse passed between the sexes but by stealth. The men perished in the mines; and the women in the fields, which they cultivated with their weak hands. Their constitutions, already exhausted with excessive labour, were still further impaired by an unwholesome and scanty diet. The mothers expired with hunger and fatigue, pressing their dead or dying infants to their breasts, shriveled and contracted for want of a proper supply of milk. The fathers either poisoned themselves, or hanged themselves on those very trees on which they had just before seen their wives or their children expire. The whole race became extinct.

THE

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

THE Spaniards, before their first settlements in the new world were laid waste by these scenes of horror, had formed some of less note at Jamaica, Porto-Rico, and Cuba. Velasquez, who founded the last of these, was desirous that his colony should enjoy, together with that of San Domingo, the advantage of making discoveries upon the continent, and he fixed upon Francis Hernandez of Cordova to conduct this glorious undertaking. He furnished him with three vessels and a hundred and ten men, with permission to erect forts, to bring off slaves, or to export gold, at his own discretion. This voyage, which was made in 1517, was productive of no event except the discovery of the Yucatan.

JOHN of Gryalva, who was sent out the following year with a view of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of this country, discharged his commission with ability; but he did not confine himself to this object: he surveyed the coast of Campeachy, pursued his voyage still further north, and landed wherever he found a convenient spot. Though he did not always meet with a favourable reception, his expedition proved extremely successful. He brought home a great quantity of gold, and acquired a sufficient insight into the extent, opulence, and strength of Mexico.

Cortez sets
out for the
conquest of
Mexico.
What hap-
pened to
him off
Tabasco.

THE conquest of this vast empire appeared too great an undertaking for a man of Gryalva's abilities. Fernando Cortez, who was more distinguished on account of the expectations that were entertained of his future conduct, than by the great services he had already performed, was unanimously

nimously fixed upon to carry this plan into execution. According to the representation given of him by his adherents, it appears, that he had such an uncommon strength of constitution, that he was able to undergo the greatest fatigues; that he possessed the talent of eloquence in an eminent degree; a sagacity which foresaw every thing; a presence of mind not to be disturbed by the most unexpected events; that he was fruitful in expedients; that he knew how to reduce those to subjection who refused to listen to terms of accommodation; that he pursued with invariable steadiness the point he had in view; and that he was animated with that enthusiastic love of glory, which has ever been considered as the leading qualification in a hero. This advantageous idea of Cortez has long prevailed among the generality of people, whose judgements are, and must ever be, regulated by the sole standard of success. But, since philosophy has thrown a new light upon history, it is become a matter of doubt whether the faults of Cortez did not overbalance his great qualities.

Be this, however, as it may, Cortez, who was afterwards so celebrated, was no sooner invested by Velasquez with the command of the most important expedition that had hitherto been undertaken to the new world, than all men who felt a propensity for acquiring fortune or fame crowded about him. Having surmounted the obstacles which jealousy and enmity threw in his way, he set sail on the 10th of February 1519. His forces consisted of five hundred and eight soldiers, a hundred

dred and nine sailors with their proper officers, some cavalry, and a small train of artillery. This armament, inconsiderable as it was, was not equipped by government, which only lent the sanction of its name to the attempts that were made to discover new countries, and form new settlements. These enterprises were all carried on at the expence of private persons, who were ruined if they failed in them; while their success enlarged the dominion of the mother-country. After the first expeditions, the state neither formed any plan, nor advanced any money, nor raised any troops. The thirst of gold, and the spirit of chivalry which still prevailed, were the only incitements to industry and activity. The influence of these, however, was so powerful, that not only the common people, but great numbers of distinguished rank, flew with impatience to mix with savages in the torrid zone, and frequently in an unwholesome climate. There were, perhaps, at that time, no people upon earth besides the Spaniards so frugal, so much inured to fatigue, or so accustomed to the intemperature of a hot climate, as to be able to endure so many hardships.

CORTEZ, who possessed these qualities in an eminent degree, attacked the Indians at Tabasco as he marched along, defeated them in several engagements, granted them peace, entered into an alliance with them, and brought away several of their women, who were glad to follow him. This readiness of theirs may be accounted for very naturally.

IN

IN America the men were in general addicted to that shameful kind of debauchery which shocks nature, and perverts animal instinct. This depravity has been attributed by some to natural weakness, which, however, should rather seem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be ascribed to the heat of the climate; the contempt the men have for the softer sex; the little pleasure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman harrassed with labour; the inconstancy of taste; the caprice which incites us in every particular to enjoyments that are least common; and inspires us with certain inordinate propensities to voluptuousness, more easy to be conceived than explained with decency. Besides, those hunting parties, in which the men are frequently absent from the women for two months, have also contributed to familiarize men more with each other. This vice is therefore in these countries nothing more than the consequence of an universal and violent passion, which even in civilized nations tramples upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of consanguinity, and patriotic sentiment: besides that, there are some actions to which civilized people have with reason attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of savages.

HOWEVER this may be, the arrival of the Europeans raised new ideas in the American women. They threw themselves without reserve into the arms of these libidinous strangers, who had inured themselves to cruelty, and whose avaricious hands were drenched in blood. While the unfortunate
remains

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

remains of these savage nations were endeavouring to separate themselves from the sword that pursued them by immense tracts of deserts, their women, who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcases of their children and of their murdered husbands, went to seek their destroyers even in their camp, in order to intice them to share the ardent transports with which they were devoured. This furious attachment of the American women for the Spaniards may be reckoned among the causes that contributed to the conquest of the new world. These women usually served them as guides, frequently procured them subsistence, and sometimes betrayed conspiracies to them.

THE most celebrated of these women was named Marina. Though she was the daughter of a pretty powerful cacique, she had been reduced, by some singular events, to a state of slavery among the Mexicans from her earliest infancy. She had been brought, by fresh incidents, to Tabasco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck with her figure and her charms, they soon distinguished her from the rest. Their general surrendered his heart to her, and at the same time excited a warm passion in her breast. In the midst of amorous embraces she readily learnt the Spanish language. Cortez, on his part, soon discovered the intelligent mind and resolute character of his mistress; and not only made her his interpreter, but also his adviser. All historians agree that she acted a considerable part in every enterprise against Mexico.

REPORT

REPORT says, that this empire had not then been founded above a century. In order to prove a circumstance of so little credibility, it is necessary we should have other testimony than that of the Spaniards, who had neither the ability nor the will to examine any thing ; and better authority than that of their fanatic priests, who wanted to establish their own superstitions, by abolishing the worship of these people. What should we know of China, if the Portuguese had been able to set it on fire, overthrow, or destroy it, as they did the Brazils? Should we now converse about the antiquity of its books, its laws, and its manners? When some few philosophers have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, there to find out and clear the ruins of their history, and that these learned men shall neither be monks nor Spaniards, but English or Frenchmen, who will be allowed every liberty, and have all the means of getting at the truth ; then perhaps we may learn, whether barbarism has not destroyed the ancient monuments that might have discovered the traces of the antiquity of this country.

Cortez arrives at Mexico. His engagements with the province of Tlascala.

OUR lights concerning the founders of the empire are not more certain than those we have with respect to the æra of its foundation. This is another of those facts the knowledge of which we have been deprived of by the ignorance of the Spaniards. Their credulous historians have, indeed, told us, in an uncertain and vague manner, that some barbarians who formed a national body, issuing from the north of this continent, had succeeded in subduing

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

successively some savages born under a milder sky, and who either did not live in a social state, or formed only small societies.

ALL that we can affirm is, that Montezuma was the sovereign of Mexico when the Spaniards landed on the coasts of that empire. The monarch was soon informed of the arrival of these strangers. Throughout this vast extent of kingdom, couriers were placed at different distances, who speedily acquainted the court with every thing that happened in the most distant provinces. Their dispatches were composed of pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the several circumstances of the affairs that required the attention of government. The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which supplied what the art of the painter had not been able to express.

It was to be expected, that a prince who had been raised to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conquest, who was in possession of numerous and disciplined armies, would either send to attack, or would have marched himself to disperse, a handful of adventurers, who dared to infest and plunder his dominions. But this step was neglected; and the Spaniards, who had always an irresistible turn to the marvellous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourse to a miracle, a conduct so evidently opposite to the character of the monarch, and so incompatible with his situation. The writers of this superstitious nation have not scrupled to declare to the whole universe, that, a little before the discovery of the new world; it had been foretold

to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the east would soon come among them, who would in a memorable and terrible manner avenge the gods irritated by their most horrid crimes, and particularly by that vice which is most repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they say, had fascinated the understanding of Montezuma. By this imposture, they have imagined that they should gain the double advantage of justifying their usurpations, and making heaven answerable for a part of their cruelties. This absurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among some persons in both hemispheres, and the infatuation is not so surprising as might at first be imagined. The reasons of it will be made evident by a few reflections.

THE earth has ever been subject to revolutions. Besides its diurnal and annual motion from west to east, it may have another insensible as the lapse of time which produces a revolution from north to south; and which the moderns have just begun to discover, without pretending, however, either to calculate the beginning of it, or to trace its continuation.

THIS inclination of the earth is only a seeming one, if it be owing to the heavens, which, by a slow motion proportioned to the magnitude of their orbs, attract and draw after them the sun towards the pole: but it is a real one, if our globe, by its natural constitution, verges as it were insensibly towards a point opposite to this secret motion of the heavens: however this may be, by the natural consequence of this inclination, the earth's axis being

constantly declining, it may happen, that what we call the oblique sphere may become a right one, and what was a right sphere may in its turn become an oblique one—that the countries now lying under the equator might formerly have been under the poles, and what is now the frigid zone may have before been the torrid.

HENCE we may conclude, that this great variation in the position of the whole body of the earth must continually produce a number of particular alterations on its surface. The ocean, which acts as the instrument of all these smaller changes, by following this particular inclination of the axis, retires from one tract of land and occupies another, and thus occasions those inundations or deluges which have successively overflowed the face of the globe, which have drowned its inhabitants, and every where left visible marks of ruin and devastation, or lasting memorials of their fatal effects in the annals or traditions of mankind.

THIS perpetual contest of one element with another; of the earth ingulphing the waters in her internal cavities; and of the sea encroaching upon, and swallowing up, large tracts of land; this eternal strife subsisting between two elements apparently incompatible, but in reality inseparable from each other, exposes the inhabitants of the globe to evident dangers, and fills them with apprehensions concerning their fate. The lively recollection of past naturally begets a dread of future changes. Hence the universal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation of the future conflagration

flagration of the world. The violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe, earthquakes occasioned by inundations, or volcanos produced by those convulsions, raise and keep up terror in the minds of men. This terror has been diffused, and received the sanction of every superstition from whence it first arose; and it is observed to operate most strongly in countries, such as America, where the vestiges of these revolutions of the globe are most remarkable and most recent.

MAN, once possessed with fear, considers a single calamity as the parent of a thousand others. Earth and heaven seem equally to conspire his ruin: he imagines that he views death both above and beneath him: he looks upon events, which accidentally happen at the same juncture, as connected in the nature and the order of things; and, as every transaction on this globe must necessarily appear under the aspect of some constellation, the stars are accused of having a share in every calamity whose cause is unknown; and the human mind, which has ever been bewildered in its inquiries concerning the origin of evil, has been led to suppose, that certain similar situations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and necessary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or soon after succeeding.

POLITICAL events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been considered as more immediately depending on the motion of the stars. Hence have arisen false predictions, and the terrors they have inspired; ter-

rors which have always disturbed the earth, and of which ignorance is the cause, and at the same time regulates the degree of them.

THOUGH Montezuma, as well as many other persons, might possibly have been affected with this disease of the human mind, there is no circumstance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakness to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wiser on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he had no longer displayed any of those talents that had placed him upon it. Sunk in a state of effeminacy and indolence, he despised his subjects, and oppressed his tributaries. His mind was so debased and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouse him into action. He wasted in negotiations the time he should have employed in combat, and wished to send away, laden with presents, enemies he ought to have destroyed. Cortez, to whom this supineness was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him in the most friendly terms. He declared, that he was sent merely with orders to hold a conference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greatest monarch of the east. Whenever he was pressed to reembark, he always represented, that no ambassador had ever been dismissed without being admitted to an audience. At length, the deputies, finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their instructions, to have recourse to menaces, and spoke in high terms of the opulence and strength of their country. Cortez then,

3

turning

turning to his soldiers, told them: *This is exactly what we wish to meet with, great dangers and great wealth.* He had then completed all his preparatives, and gained every information that was necessary. Resolved therefore to conquer or to perish, he set fire to all his ships, and directed his march to the capital of the empire.

BOOK
VL

In his way he met with the republic of Tlascala, which had ever been in enmity with the Mexicans, who wanted to make it subject to their empire. Cortez, not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permission to pass through their country, and proposed an alliance; both which were refused, for reasons that we never have been acquainted with. The surprising accounts given of the Spaniards astonished the inhabitants of Tlascala, but did not dismay them. They fought four or five battles; in one of which the Spanish troops were broken, and in danger of being defeated, had not some dissensions happened in the enemy's army. Cortez was obliged to intrench himself; and the Tlascalans, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, rushed to death upon his breast-works.

ANOTHER circumstance, which contributed not a little to their defeat, was a certain point of honour dictated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the siege of Troy, and by some people among the Gauls; and established among several nations. This was the dread and disgrace of suffering the dead or the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

occasioned a continual confusion in their army, and abated the vigour of their attacks.

THE form of government among these people was very singular, and in many respects at least may be proposed as an excellent model. The country was divided into several districts, over which princes presided with the title of Caciques. They led their subjects to war, levied taxes, and administered justice: but it was necessary that their laws and edicts should have the sanction of the senate of Tlascala, in which the supreme authority resided. This body was composed of citizens chosen out of each district by an assembly of the people.

THE morals of the Tlascalans were extremely severe. Falshood, filial ingratitude, and sodomy, were punished with death. Polygamy was tolerated by law. Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it.

MILITARY merit here, as in all uncivilized states, or such as aspire to conquest, was in the highest esteem. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraven the figures of two of their antient heroes. They began the engagement by discharging one of these arrows, which it was a point of honour to recover. In their towns they wore a dress, which they laid aside when they went to battle. They were celebrated for simplicity and sincerity in their public treaties, and the veneration they paid to old men. Theft, adultery, and drunkenness, were held in detestation; and the persons guilty of those crimes were doomed to banishment. No strong liquors were allowed to be drunk by any but veterans, exhausted by the fatigues of war.

THE

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

377

BOOK
VI.

THE Tlascalans had their pleasure-gardens and their baths. They were fond of dancing, poetry, and theatrical amusements. One of their principal divinities was the goddess of love, who had a temple erected to her, where the whole nation resorted to the celebration of her festivals.

THEIR country was not of any great extent, nor was it the most fertile spot in that part of the world. Though mountainous, it was well cultivated, very populous, and very happy.

SUCH were the people whom the Spaniards disdained to acknowledge of the same species with themselves. One of the qualities of the Tlascalans, which excited their contempt the most, was the love of liberty. They fancied that these people had no government, because it was not vested in a single person; no police, because it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, because they were not of the same religious persuasion; and no understanding, because they did not adopt the same opinion.

PERHAPS, no people have ever been so firmly attached to their national prejudice, as the Spaniards were at that time, and as they still continue to be. By these prejudices all their sentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The strong and ardent genius they derived from nature, served only to assist them in inventing sophisms to confirm them in their errors. Never was the perversion of human reason maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obstinate, and artful manner: nor was their attachment to their customs less strong than to their

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

their prejudices. They thought no people in the world were intelligent, enlightened, and virtuous, except themselves. This national pride, carried to an excess of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to consider Athens in the same contemptuous light as they did Tlascala. They would have treated the Chinese as brutes, and have every where left marks of outrage, oppression, and devastation.

THIS haughty and imperious turn of mind did not, however, prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlascalans, who furnished them with troops to conduct their march and support them in their enterprize.

Cortez advances towards Mexico. Manners, religion, government, and riches of the empire, at the arrival of the Spaniards.

WITH this reinforcement, Cortez advanced towards the capital city, through a fertile country watered by fine rivers, and interspersed with towns, woods, cultivated fields, and gardens. The soil produced a variety of plants unknown in Europe. Birds of the brightest plumage, and animals of a new species, appeared in great abundance. Nature only changed her appearance, by assuming a more agreeable and richer dress. The temperature of the air, and the continual heats, which were not insupportable, preserved the earth in constant verdure and fertility. On the same spot were seen trees covered with blossoms, and others with delicious fruits; and the corn that was sown in one field was reaped in another.

THE Spaniards seemed to be insensible to the beauties of so new a scene. They saw that gold was the common ornament of the houses and temples;

ples; that the arms, furniture, and persons, of the Mexicans, were adorned with the same metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon, whom Milton describes as "forgetting the Divinity in Heaven itself, and having his eyes always fixed upon its golden porches.

MONTEZUMA's wavering disposition, and, perhaps, the fear of staining his former glory, prevented him from marching against the Spaniards at their arrival, and from joining the Tlascalans, who had behaved with greater courage than he had done; and, lastly, from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He had contented himself with endeavouring to divert Cortez from his design of visiting his capital, and resolved at last to introduce him into it himself. Thirty kings or princes were subject to his dominion, many of whom were able to bring a numerous army into the field. He possessed immense riches, and his power was absolute. It is said that his subjects were intelligent, enlightened, polite, and industrious. They were also a warlike people, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico known how to avail himself of these advantages, the sceptre could never have been wrested out of his hands. But this prince, forgetting what he owed to himself and to his station, did not shew the least instance of courage, or ability, by the exertion of his whole force when he might have crushed the Spaniards, notwithstanding their superiority in discipline and arms; he rather chose to have recourse to perfidy.

WHILE

WHILE he loaded them with presents, careffes, and every token of respect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had established with a view of securing their retreat, and of being furnished with supplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and told them, "That it was absolutely necessary to surprize these barbarians with some extraordinary exploit; and that he resolved to seize the emperor, and make himself master of his person." This design being approved, he instantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he must either follow him, or die. The prince, whose pusillanimity could only be equalled by the rashness of his enemies, resigned himself into their hands. He was obliged to consent to the punishment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience to his orders; and completed his disgrace, by submitting to do homage to the king of Spain.

IN the midst of this success, Cortez received advice that Narvaez was dispatched by the governor of Cuba, with a small army, to supersede him in his command. He marched towards his rival, engaged, and took him prisoner. He ordered the vanquished to lay down their arms, but afterwards restored them, and proposed that they should follow him. He gained their affections by his confidence and magnanimity; and the army of Narvaez inlisted under his standard. He then returned to Mexico, where he had left two hundred men to guard the emperor.

COMMOTIONS were excited among the nobility of Mexico, whose indignation was raised at the captivity

tivity of their prince; and the indiscreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to disturb a public festival, celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by destroying their altars, and making a massacre of the worshipers and priests, had provoked the people to take up arms.

THE superstition of the Mexicans was the only mark of barbarism among them; their priests, however, who were a disgrace to humanity, made a most scandalous abuse of that abominable worship, which they had imposed upon the credulity of the people. This government, like all other civilized nations, acknowledged a supreme Being, and a future state of rewards and punishments: but these useful doctrines were disgraced by a mixture of absurdities, which destroyed their credibility.

THE religious system of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final catastrophe of the world at the conclusion of every century; and that year was distinguished throughout the whole empire by every mark of grief and consternation. The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the same manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Fetiches. The lowest of this class of deities had all their temples, images, functions, and distinct authority assigned them, together with the power of working miracles.

THE Mexicans had also their holy water to sprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it. Pilgrimages, processions, and donations to the priests, were esteemed acts of piety: and they were no strangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

and abstinence. They had some superstitious observances peculiar to themselves. A slave was annually chosen, and shut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration; offered incense, invoked him as a deity, and concluded the scene by putting him to death with great solemnity. Another piece of superstition, of which no traces are to be found in any other country, was this: on certain days the priest made a statue of paste, which they sent to the oven; they placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day innumerable crowds of people flocked to the temple. The priests cut the statue in pieces, and distributed a portion of it to all the persons in the assembly, who ate it, and thought they were sanctified by swallowing their god.

It was certainly more eligible to eat gods than men; and yet the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners of war in the temple of the god of battles. The priests, it is said, afterwards ate them, and sent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had lasted some time, the priests took care to have it insinuated to the emperor, that the gods were perishing with hunger; and war was commenced with no other view than to make prisoners. Such a system of religion was in every view odious and terrible; and all its ceremonies were of a dismal and sanguinary cast. It kept mankind perpetually in awe, was calculated to make a people cruel, and to give the priests an unlimited authority. These barbarous absurdities, though they might justly excite

excite the detestation of the Spaniards, could not justify their attempts to suppress them by the greatest cruelties. They could not justify them in attacking and murdering a people assembled in the principal temple of the capital; or in assassinating the nobles in order to seize upon their possessions.

ON his return to Mexico, Cortez found the Spaniards besieged in the palace, where he had left them to guard the emperor. It was not without difficulty that he opened a passage to join them; and, when he was at their head, he was obliged to sustain many powerful attacks. The Mexicans gave proofs of extraordinary courage. They cheerfully devoted themselves to certain death. Naked and ill-armed, they threw themselves into the ranks of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms useless, or wresting them out of their hands. Several attempted to enter Cortez's palace by the embrasures, where the cannon were placed; and there was not a man who would not have courted death to procure the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of these foreign usurpers. Cortez, having taken possession of a temple which was an advantageous post, was viewing from a platform the engagement in which the Indians fought desperately for the recovery of their lost liberty, when two young Mexican noblemen threw away their arms, and came over to him as deserters. Placing one knee on the ground in a suppliant posture, they seized him, and threw themselves from

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

from the platform, in hopes of making him perishi by dragging him along with them. Cortez disengaged himself from them, and kept his station by laying hold of the balustradé; and the two Mexicans died victims of this noble but fruitless enterprize.

THIS, and some other exploits which shewed equal courage, made the Spaniards desirous of coming to terms of accommodation. At length Montezuma consented to become the instrument of his people's slavery, and appeared upon the rampart to persuade his subjects to retire. Their resentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the shower of arrows they discharged at him.

THE successor to this mean monarch was of a haughty and intrepid disposition. He united judgment with readiness of conception. He knew how to retrieve his affairs, and to defend himself in circumstances of danger. His sagacity discovered to him the difficulty of gaining any advantage over an enemy, so superior in their weapons, by vigorous attacks; and he thought it the best expedient to reduce them by famine. Cortez no sooner perceived this change of measures, than he thought of securing a retreat into the country of Tlasecala.

THE execution of this project required great dispatch, impenetrable secrecy, and well-concerted measures. The march was begun in the middle of the night: the army was silently filing off along a bank, when it was found that
its

its motions had been observed with a spirit of disguise, of which the Mexicans were thought incapable. His rear guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by the canoes distributed on each side of the causeway. If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place a part of them at the extremity of this causeway, or even to break it, all the Spaniards would inevitably have perished in this bloody engagement. Fortunately for them, the enemy knew not how to avail himself of all his advantages; and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone a variety of incredible dangers and fatigues. The confusion they were in still exposed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger by a fresh error of the enemy.

No sooner had the morning discovered to the Mexicans the field of battle, of which they were masters, than they perceived among the slain two of Montezuma's sons, whom the Spaniards were carrying off with some other prisoners. This sight chilled them with horror. The idea of having sacrificed the children, after having sacrificed the father, was too violent for men, enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obedience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of adding impiety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites the time they owed to the preservation of their country.

DURING this interval, the beaten army, which had lost two hundred Spaniards, a thousand Tlasc-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

calans, the greater part of their artillery, and which had scarce a soldier remaining that was not wounded, was refusing its march. The enemy soon pursued, harrassed, and at length surrounded it in the valley of Otumba. The cannonade, and the firing of the small arms, the pikes and swords, did not prevent the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing and charging their enemies with great fury. Courage was just upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez himself determined the fortune of the day. He had been informed, that in this part of the new world the fate of the battle depended upon the royal standard. These colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the most important occasions, were at no great distance from him. He immediately rushed forward, with the bravest of his companions, to take them from the enemy. One of them seized and carried them into the Spanish ranks. The Mexicans immediately lost all courage; and, throwing down their arms, betook themselves to flight. Cortez pursued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlascala without opposition.

CORTÉZ did not relinquish either the design or the hopes of subduing the empire of Mexico; but he adopted a new plan; and proposed to make one part of the inhabitants assist him in the reduction of the other. The form of the Mexican government, the disposition of the people, and the situation of the city, favoured his project, and facilitated the execution of it.

THE

THE empire was elective, and certain princes or caciques were the electors. They usually chose one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that, so long as he filled the throne, the rains should fall in due season, the rivers cause no inundations, the fields be exempt from sterility, and that mankind should not be destroyed by the malignant effects of a contagious air. This custom may have had some reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are still to be found almost among all the nations in the world. It might likewise probably be the intention of this whimsical oath, to intimate to the new sovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a state almost always arise from wrong measures of administration, his government ought to be conducted with such moderation and wisdom, that public calamities might never be considered as the consequences of his imprudence, or as the just punishment of his licentiousness. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, merit was the only title to the crown : but superstition had given the priests a considerable influence in their elections. On his accession to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the prisoners to the gods. This prince, though elective, had an absolute authority, as there were no written laws ; and he was at liberty to make what alterations he pleased in the old customs. Almost all the forms of justice and ceremonies of the court had the sanction of religion. The same

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

crimes that are punished in all other places were punishable by the laws, but the criminals were often saved by the interposition of the priests. There were two laws which had a tendency to destroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans bend under the double yoke of tyranny and superstition. By these laws, persons offending against the sanctity of religion, or the majesty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is easy to discern how much laws of so little precision might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the interested views of priests and courtiers.

THE steps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility rose to posts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perseverance. In the temples a more painful noviciate was prescribed than in the army; and the nobles, who had undergone such hardships to obtain their distinctions, submitted to the meanest employments in the palace of the emperors.

AMONG the great numbers of vassals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be some who would be ready to shake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were held in great detestation by the petty states that were subject to the empire, and that the emperors exercised their authority with extreme severity. He had likewise observed, that the provinces in general disliked the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico the nobility

and persons of fortune, whose intercourse with society had abated the force of their prejudices, and softened their popular manners, had lost their attachment to this mode of religion; and that many of the nobility were disgusted at the low services exacted of them by their masters.

HAVING received some small reinforcements from the Spaniards, obtained some troops from the republic of Tlascala, and formed some new alliances, Cortez bent his course once more towards the capital of the empire.

MEXICO was situated on an island in the middle of a large lake. If the Spaniards may be credited, this city contained twenty thousand houses; the inhabitants were very numerous, and the buildings magnificent. The emperor's palace, which was built with marble and jasper, was of a prodigious extent. Its fountains, baths, ornaments, and statues representing different animals, excited admiration. It was full of pictures, which, though made of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Most of the caciques, as well as the emperor, had menageries replenished with all the animals of the new continent, and apartments for the arrangement of natural curiosities. Their gardens were filled with plants of every species. The beauties of nature, and whatever is rare or glittering in her productions, must be an object of luxury to an opulent people, where nature is beautiful, and the arts are not brought to perfection. The temples, which were numerous, were in general magnificent; but polluted with blood, and hung round with the heads of

the unhappy victims who had been sacrificed. One of the greatest beauties of Mexico was a square to which more than a hundred thousand persons usually resorted: it was covered with tents and shops, where the merchants exposed to view all the riches of the country, and the manufactures of the Mexicans: birds of every colour, brilliant shells, a profusion of flowers, together with pieces of workmanship in gold and enamel, gave these markets a more beautiful and splendid appearance to the eye, than is to be met with in the richest fairs of Europe. One hundred thousand canoes were constantly passing and repassing between the city and the borders of the lake; which were ornamented with more than fifty cities, and a multitude of towns and villages. Upon this lake were three causeways of considerable length, which were master-pieces of Mexican industry. If we consider that these people were of no very remote antiquity, that they had no intercourse with any enlightened nation, that they knew not the use of iron, were destitute of the convenience of writing, and unacquainted with any of those arts which assist us in the knowledge and exercise of others; and if we add to this, that they lived in a climate where the invention of man is not excited by necessity; we must acknowledge them to have been one of the most ingenious people in the world.

BUT the falsity of this pompous description may easily be made evident to every man's capacity. It is not, however, merely by contrasting the present state of Mexico with that in which its conquerors pretend

pretend to have found it, that this point can be decided. The ravages occasioned by destructive tyranny, and a long-continued series of oppressions, are sufficiently known. But, if we compare the different accounts of the Spaniards, we shall then be able to judge of the degree of credit they deserve. When they wish to imprint a great idea of their courage and success, they represent the empire they have subdued as a formidable, rich, and civilized, kingdom. If, on the contrary, they mean to justify their cruelties, no people were ever so base, so corrupt, so barbarous, as these.

WERE it possible to form a proper judgement of a people that exists no more, it might possibly be said, that the Mexicans were subject to a despotism as cruel as it was ill-concerted; that they rather conceived the necessity of having regular tribunals of justice, than they felt the advantages of them; that the small number of arts they followed were as defective in workmanship, as they were rich in materials; that they were further removed from a savage, than they were near to a civilized people; and that fear, the chief spring of all arbitrary governments, served them instead of morality and principles.

CORTÉZ began, however, by gaining over to his interest the caciques who reigned in the cities that were situated on the borders of the lake. Some of them joined the Spaniards with their forces; others were reduced to subjection. Cortez took possession of the three avenues that lead to Mexico.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Mexico. He also endeavoured to make himself master of the navigation of the lake. He built some brigantines, on board of which he put part of his artillery: and, in this posture, he waited till famine should produce a surrender of the empire of the new world.

GUATIMOZIN exerted his utmost efforts to relieve the capital. His subjects fought with as much fury as ever. The Spaniards, however, maintained their posts, and carried their attacks into the center of the city. The Mexicans, fearing it would be taken, and perceiving that there must soon be a total want of provisions, turned their attention to the preservation of their emperor. He consented to attempt his escape, with a view of maintaining the war in the northern part of his dominions. To facilitate his retreat, a party of his soldiers generously devoted themselves to death, by diverting the attention of the besiegers: but the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spanish revenue, suspecting that he had treasures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red-hot coals, to extort a confession. His favourite, who underwent the same torture, complaining to him of his sufferings, the emperor said, *Am I upon a bed of roses?* an expression equal to any of those which history has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind! an expression which the Mexicans shall one day repeat to their children, when the period shall arrive, in which the Spaniards shall expiate the cruelties they have exercised,

exercised, and that race of destroyers be plunged into the sea, or drowned in their own blood. These people may, perhaps, preserve the actions of their martyrs, and the history of their persecutions. In these it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from the flames, and that three years after he was publicly hanged, under pretence of his having conspired against his oppressors and executioners.

IN arbitrary states, the fall of the prince, and the reduction of the capital, usually bring on the conquest and subjection of the whole realm. The people cannot preserve their attachment to an oppressive government, or to a tyrant who thinks to make himself more respectable by never appearing in public. Accustomed to acknowledge no right but that of force, they never fail to submit to the strongest party. Such was the revolution of Mexico. All the provinces submitted without resistance to the victor, who gave the name of New Spain to this empire, the frontiers of which were still extended, though they were already five hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth.

The Spaniards, being masters of Mexico, extend its boundaries.

THE first step the conquerors took, was to add to their acquisitions the vast tract which lies to the southward, and extends from Guatemala to the gulph of Darien. This accession of territory, though acquired without much loss of time, blood, or treasure, was of little use. The provinces of which it consists are hardly known, and inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who in general are poor, and have by their tyranny compelled

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

compelled the Indians to retire into the mountains and impenetrable forests. Among all these savages, the Mosquitos are the only people who retain the form of a nation. Having for a long time struggled to preserve the fertile plains they inhabited in the country of Nicaragua, they took refuge among the barren rocks at the cape of Gracias à Dios. Defended on the inland side by impassable morasses, and on that of the sea by dangerous shoals, they defy the rage of their enemies. Their intercourse with the English and French pirates, whom they have frequently accompanied in the most dangerous enterprizes, has inflamed their hatred for their persecutors, increased their natural audacity, and taught them the use of fire-arms: but their numbers, which were never considerable, have been continually on the decline. As they do not at present exceed two thousand men, their weakness puts it out of their power to give the least alarm.

THE increased extent of New Spain towards the north is more considerable, and may prove of much more importance. We have hitherto been speaking only of New Mexico, which was discovered in 1553, and conquered in the beginning of the last century; which revolted about the middle of it, and was soon after reduced to subjection. All that we know concerning this immense province is, that the Spaniards have settled a few wandering savages there, introduced a little agriculture, worked some rich mines imperfectly, and established a settlement called Santa-Fé.

FÉ. The conquest of this inland territory would have been followed by another of much greater utility on the sea-coast, if, during the hundred years since it was undertaken, it had been prosecuted with the attention it deserved.

THE old empire of Mexico extended its boundaries almost to the entrance of Vermilion bay. From these limits, to the place where the continent is united to California, is a gulph almost twenty degrees in length. Its breadth is sometimes sixty, and sometimes fifty leagues, seldom less than forty. In this extent there are many sand-banks, and a considerable number of islands; and the coast is inhabited by several savage nations, which are for the most part in enmity with each other. The Spaniards have here formed certain scattered colonies, to which, agreeably to their custom, they have given the name of provinces. Their missionaries have carried their discoveries further, and flattered themselves that they should procure to their country greater riches than it had ever acquired from its most celebrated possessions.

SEVERAL causes have been for a long time combined, to render their labours ineffectual. No sooner had they assembled together, and civilized some of the savages, than these were carried off to be employed in the mines. This cruelty ruined the rising settlements, and prevented other Indians from incorporating with them. The Spaniards, too remote from the inspection of government, gave themselves up to the most atrocious and unheard-of enormities. Quicksilver, stuffs,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

and other merchandise, were carried thither from Vera-Cruz on mules, through a difficult and dangerous way of six or seven hundred leagues; a circumstance which, at the end of the journey, enhanced their price so considerably, that most of the persons concerned in the working of the mines were obliged to abandon them, from the impossibility of supporting them. At last certain clans of savages, stimulated either by ferocity, or the well-grounded apprehension of being one day enslaved, unexpectedly fell on the workmen, who still obstinately persisted in struggling against so many difficulties.

It was hoped that a new arrangement of things would take place, when in 1746, by order of government, the Jesuit Ferdinand Confag had sailed through the whole gulph of California. This voyage, executed with the utmost care, and with great judgment, instructed the Spaniards in every thing that was of importance for them to know. They became acquainted with the coasts of this continent, the harbours which nature has opened there, the sandy and dry places which are not susceptible of cultivation, and the rivers, which, by the fertility they produce on their banks, point out the proper spot for the formation of settlements. Nothing in future could hinder the vessels from Acapulco from entering Vermilion bay, or from conveying at a moderate expence, into the provinces or its borders, missionaries, soldiers, miners, provisions, merchandize, and every thing necessary for colonies, and returning from thence laden

laden with metals. The imagination of the Spaniards went still further. They already foresaw the whole continent subdued as far as New Mexico, and a new empire rise as extensive and as opulent as the former, and which would be superior to it in the mildness and salubrity of its climate.

THESE expectations were not chimerical; but, in order to have them realized, it was necessary that the natives of the country should either be gained over by humane actions, or subdued by force of arms. It could not possibly enter into the minds of the destroyers of the new world to have recourse to the first of these expedients; and they were not able to pursue the second before the year 1768.

Their endeavours have not been crowned with complete success. They advanced with considerable rapidity in Mexico, and in every region which was populous, or whose inhabitants were collected in a small compass. Countries less inhabited were not so soon reduced, because there was a necessity of finding out men to subdue, and because they fled into the forests whenever the Spaniards appeared, and did not appear again till want of subsistence had obliged them to return. Thus it was not till after three years pursuit, toil, and cruelty, that the conquest of the Seris, Platos, and Sobai-poris, was completed. Their neighbours, the Papagos, Nijoras, and Sobas, despairing of being able to defend their liberty, submitted to the yoke without resistance. Troops were still employed in 1771 in pursuing the Apaches, the most warlike of these nations, and who had the strongest
passion

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

passion for independence. It is no longer thought possible to subdue them; but the Spaniards are constantly employed in exterminating their race, or at least in keeping them at a distance from New Biscay, which would otherwise be exposed to their incursions.

THE wealth that has been lately found in the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, which form what is now called the New Andalusia, appears to transcend every thing that has been seen in any other place. There is a gold mine fourteen leagues in extent, which at the depth of two feet offers immense treasures. Of the silver mines, one produces eight marks per quintal of ore, and the stones which are drawn out of the other are almost entirely composed of native silver. If the court of Madrid, which has just published these discoveries, hath not been deceived; if the mines, which often have a great extent of surface with very little depth, do not present delusive hopes; the unhappy savages, who have very lately been subdued, will be all buried alive in the bowels of the earth.

Climate,
soil, and
population
of Mexico.

New Spain is almost entirely situated within the torrid zone. The air is excessively warm, moist, and unwholesome, on the coasts of the north sea. These defects of the climate are infinitely less felt on the coasts of the south sea, and hardly at all in the inland country, which is intersected by a chain of mountains, that are supposed to be a continuation of the Cordeleras.

THE quality of the soil has the same variations. The eastern part is low, marshy, overflowed in the rainy

rainy seasons, covered with impenetrable forests, and totally uncultivated. It may be imagined, that, if the Spaniards should leave it in this state of desolation, it is because they judge, that a desert and destructive frontier will furnish a better defence against an enemy's fleet, than they could ever expect either from fortifications and troops, the maintenance of which would cost immense sums; or from the natives of the country, who are effeminate, and little attached to the government of their conquerors. The soil on the western side is higher, of a better quality, on which there are many fields, and several houses are built upon it. In the low lands there are districts, on which nature has been very liberal; but, like every country situated under the tropics, they abound more in fruits than in corn.

THE population of this vast empire is not less various than its soil. Its most distinguished inhabitants are the Spaniards, sent hither by the court to fill the posts of government. They are obliged, like those in the mother-country who aspire to any ecclesiastical, civil, or military employments, to prove that there hath been neither hereticks, Jews, Mohammedans, nor any persons in their family, who have been called before the inquisition, for four generations. Merchants who are desirous of going to Mexico, as well as to other parts of America, without becoming colonists, are compelled to observe the same forms. They are also obliged to swear that they have three hundred palms of merchandise, their own property, in the fleet in which they embark, and that they will not carry their
wives

wives with them. On these absurd conditions, they become the principal agents of the European commerce with the Indies. Though their charter is only to continue three years, and a little longer for countries more remote, it is of great importance. To them alone belongs the right of selling, as commissioners, the major part of the cargo. If these laws were observed, the merchants stationed in the new world would be confined to dispose of what they have received on their own account.

THE predilection, which administration has for Spaniards born in Europe, has reduced the Spanish Creoles to acquiesce in subordinate stations. The descendents of the companions of Cortez, and of those who came after them, being constantly excluded from all places of honour or of trust that were any way considerable, have seen the gradual decay of the power that supported their fathers. The habit of being obliged to bear that unjust contempt with which they have been treated has at last made them become really contemptible. They have totally lost, in the vices which originate from indolence, from the heat of the climate, and from a superfluous enjoyment of all things, that firmness, and that sort of pride which hath ever characterized their nation. A barbarous luxury, shameful pleasures, and romantic intrigues, have enervated all the vigour of their minds, and superstition hath completed the ruin of their virtues. Blindly devoted to priests too ignorant to enlighten them by their instructions, too depraved to edify them by their example, and too mercenary to at-
tend

tend to both these duties of their function, they have no attachment to any part of their religion, but that which enfeebles the mind, and have neglected what might have contributed to rectify their morals.

THE Mestees, who constitute the third order of citizens, are held in still greater contempt. It is well known that the court of Madrid, in order to replenish a part of that dreadful vacancy which the avarice and cruelty of the conquerors had occasioned, and to regain the confidence of those who had escaped their fury, encouraged as much as possible the marriage of Spaniards with Indian women. These alliances, which became pretty common throughout all America, were particularly frequent in Mexico, where the women had more understanding, and were more agreeable than in other places. The Creoles transferred to this mixt progeny the contemptuous slight they received from the Europeans. Their condition, equivocal at first, in process of time at last was fixed between the whites and the blacks.

THESE blacks are not very numerous in New Spain. As the natives are more intelligent, more robust, and more industrious, than those of the other colonies, they have hardly introduced any Africans except such as were required either to indulge the caprice, or perform the domestic service, of rich people. These slaves, who are much beloved by their masters, on whom they absolutely depend, who purchased them at an extravagant price, and who make them the ministers of their pleasures, take advantage of the high favour they enjoy, to

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

oppress the Mexicans. They assume over these men, who are called free, an ascendant which keeps up an implacable hatred between the two nations. The law has studied to encourage this aversion, by taking effectual measures to prevent all connection between them. Negroes are prohibited from having any amorous correspondence with the Indians; the men, on pain of being mutilated, the women of being severely punished. On all these accounts, the Africans, who in other settlements are enemies to Europeans, are in the Spanish Indies their warm friends.

AUTHORITY has no need of this support, at least in Mexico, where population is no longer what it was formerly. The first historians, and those who copied them, have recorded, that the Spaniards found there ten millions of souls. This was the exaggerated account of conquerors, to exalt the magnificence of their triumph: and it was adopted, without examination, with so much the more readiness, as it rendered them the more odious. We need only trace with attention the progress of those rustians who at first desolated these fine countries, in order to be convinced that they had not succeeded in multiplying men at Mexico and the adjacent parts, but by depopulating the center of the empire; and that the provinces, which are remote from the capital, differed in nothing from the other deserts of South and North America. It is making a great concession, to allow that the population of Mexico has only been exaggerated one half: for it does not now exceed one million.

It

It is generally believed, that the first conquerors massacred the Indians out of wantonness, and that even the priests incited them to these acts of ferocity. Undoubtedly these inhuman soldiers frequently shed blood without even an apparent motive; and certainly their fanatic missionaries did not oppose these barbarities as they ought to have done. This was not, however, the real cause, the principal source of the depopulation of Mexico; it was the work of a slow tyranny, and of that avarice which exacted from its wretched inhabitants more rigorous toil than was compatible with their constitution and the climate.

THIS oppression was coeval with the conquest of the country. All the lands were divided between the crown, the companions of Cortez, and the grantees or ministers who were most in favour at the court of Spain. The Mexicans, appointed to the royal domains, were destined to public labours; which originally were considerable. The lot of those who were employed on the estates of individuals was still more wretched. All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were ill-fed; they had no wages given them; and services were required of them, under which the most robust men would have sunk. Their misfortunes excited the compassion of Bartholomew de las Casas.

THIS man, so famous in the annals of the new world, had accompanied his father in the first voyage made by Columbus. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians affected him so strongly, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his la-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

bours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attentions. As he was more a *man* than a *priest*, he felt more for the cruelties exercised against them, than for their superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort the people for whom he had conceived an attachment, or to soften their tyrants. This conduct, which made him be idolized by the one, and dreaded by the other, had not the success he expected. The hope of striking awe, by a character revered among the Spaniards, determined him to accept the bishoprick of Chiapa in Mexico. When he was convinced that this dignity was an insufficient barrier against that avarice and cruelty which he endeavoured to check, he abdicated it. It was then that this courageous, firm, disinterested, man accused his country before the tribunal of the whole universe. In his account of the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, he accuses them of having destroyed fifteen millions of Indians. They ventured to find fault with the acrimony of his style, but no one convicted him of exaggeration. His writings, which indicate the amiable turn of his disposition, and the sublimity of his sentiments, have stamped a disgrace upon his barbarous countrymen, which time hath not and never will efface.

THE court of Madrid, awakened by the representations of the virtuous Las Casas, and by the indignation of the whole world, became sensible at last, that the tyranny it permitted was repugnant to religion, to humanity, and to policy, and resolved

resolved to break the chains of the Mexicans. Their liberty was now only constrained by the sole condition, that they should not quit the territory where they were settled. This precaution owed its origin to the fear that was entertained of their going to join the wandering savages to the north and south of the empire.

WITH their liberty their lands ought also to have been restored to them; but this was not done. This injustice compelled them to work solely for their oppressors. It was only decreed, that the Spaniards, in whose service they laboured, should stipulate to keep them well, and pay them to the amount of 120 livres * a year.

FROM these profits the tribute imposed by government was subtracted, together with an hundred sous †, for an institution which it is astonishing the conquerors should have thought of establishing. This was a fund set apart in each community, and appropriated to the relief of such Indians as were decayed or indisposed, and to their support under private or public calamities.

THE distribution of this fund was committed to their caciques. These were not the descendents of those whom they found in the country at the time of the conquest. The Spaniards chose them from among those Indians who appeared the most attached to their interests; and were under no apprehensions at making these dignities hereditary. Their authority was limited to the supporting the police in their district, which in general extended

* About 5l. 5s.

† 4s. 4d.½.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

eight or ten leagues ; to the collecting the tribute of those Indians who laboured on their own account, that of the others being stopt by the masters whom they served ; and to the preventing their flight by keeping them always under their inspection, and the not suffering them to contract any engagement without their consent. As a reward of their services, these magistrates obtained from government a property. They were permitted to take out of the common stock five sous * annually for every Indian under their jurisdiction. At last they were empowered to get their fields cultivated by such young men as were not yet subject to the poll-tax ; and to employ girls till the time of their marriage in such occupations as were adapted to their sex, without allowing them any salary except their maintenance.

THESE institutions, which totally changed the condition of the Indians of Mexico, irritated the Spaniards to a degree not to be conceived. Their pride would not suffer them to consider the Americans as free men ; nor would their avarice permit them to pay for labour, which hitherto had cost them nothing. They employed themselves successively, or in combination, craft, remonstrances, and violence, to effect the subversion of an arrangement which so strongly contradicted their warmest passions ; but their efforts were ineffectual. Las Casas had raised up for his beloved Indians protectors who seconded his design with zeal and warmth. The Mexicans themselves, finding a support, impeached their op-

* Two-pence half-penny.

preflors before the tribunals, and even the tribunals that were either weak or in the interest of the court. They carried their resolution so far, as even unanimously to refuse to work for those who had treated any of their countrymen with injustice. This mutual agreement, more than any other circumstance, gave solidity to the regulations which had been decreed. The other, prescribed by the laws, was gradually established. There was no longer any regular system of oppression; but merely several of those particular vexations which a vanquished people, who have lost their government, can hardly avoid from those who have subdued it.

THESE clandestine acts of injustice did not prevent the Mexicans from recovering, from time to time, certain detached portions of that immense territory of which their fathers had been despoiled. They purchased them of the royal domain, or of the great proprietors. It was not their labour which enabled them to make these acquisitions: for this they were indebted to the happiness of having discovered, some of them mines, others treasures which had been concealed at the time of the conquest. The greatest number derived their resources from the priests and monks, to whom they owed their existence.

EVEN those, who experienced a fortune less propitious, procured for themselves by the sole profits of their pay more conveniences than they had enjoyed before they underwent a foreign yoke. We should be very much deceived if we should judge of the antient prosperity of the inhabitants

of Mexico by what has been said of its emperor, its court, its capital, and the governors of its provinces. Despotism had there produced those fatal effects which it produces every where. The whole state was sacrificed to the caprices, pleasures, and magnificence, of a small number of persons.

THE government drew considerable advantages from the mines which it caused to be worked, and still greater from those which were in the hands of individuals. The salt-works greatly added to its revenue. Those who followed agriculture, at the time of harvest paid in a kind of a third of all the produce of the lands, whether they belonged to them as their own property, or whether they were only the farmers of them. Men who lived by the chase, fishermen, potters, and all mechanics, paid the same proportion of their industry every month. Even the poor were taxed at certain fixed contributions, which their labour or their alms might put them in a condition to pay.

THE generality of the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himself and the nobles were only covered with a kind of mantle, composed of a piece of square cotton tied on the right shoulder. They wore sandals on their feet. The women of the lower sort for their whole apparel had only a kind of shift with half-sleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open at the bosom. Common people were prohibited from raising their houses above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. Most of these houses were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had

no greater share of conveniency than of elegance. The inside was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir-wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain straw and coverlets of cotton. For their seats, they had only little sacks of palm-leaves; but it was their custom to sit on the ground, and even to eat in that posture. Their nourishment, which consisted rarely of animal food, had little diversity and little delicacy. Their most ordinary aliment was maize made into a paste, or prepared with various seasonings. With these they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad smell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or seasoned with honey or pimento, was their best liquor. They had, besides these, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality; for all strong drinks were so rigidly prohibited, that no one could use them without a particular permission from government, which was granted only to the sick and aged. It was on certain solemnities alone, and in public labours, that each person had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenness was considered as the most scandalous of vices. Persons who were found in this situation were shaved in public, and their houses were pulled down. If they exercised any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.

It is a matter of astonishment, that men who had so few wants should ever submit to the yoke of slavery. That the citizen, accustomed to the indulgences and conveniences of life, should purchase

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

chase them every day with the sacrifice of his liberty, is not the least surprising; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the social chain that unites them, should calmly submit to slavery, and never think that there is frequently but a river to cross in order to be free; this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and superstition render men insensible to the feelings of nature.

THE Mexicans are now less unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholesome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houses are better built, better disposed, and better furnished. Shoes, drawers, shirts, a garment of wool or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, constitute their dress. The dignity which it has been agreed to annex to these enjoyments, has made them better economists, and more laborious. This ease, however, is far from being universal; it is even very uncommon in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny seldom sleeps: but we often find it with satisfaction in remote parts, where the Spaniards are not numerous, and where they have in some measure become Mexicans.

THE inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are distinguished above all others. They owe their superiority to the advantage of having had Las Casas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppressed. They surpass their countrymen in size, genius, and strength. Their language has a peculiar softness and elegance. Their territory, without being a better soil than the
the

the rest, is infinitely richer in all sorts of productions. They are painters, musicians, and dextrous in all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating those works, pictures, and stuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elsewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community consisting of about four thousand families, amongst which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is situated, is the spot on which the inhabitants continually display their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themselves, with surprising agility. They excel no less in the chase of bulls, cudgeling, dancing, and all bodily exercises. They build towns and castles of wood, which they cover with oil-cloth, and which they besiege in form. In a word, theatrical representations are their ordinary amusements. From these particulars we see what the Mexicans were capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have passed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had possessed moderation and good sense enough to relax the chains of their servitude, instead of riveting them.

THE employments of this people are very various. The most intelligent, and those who are in easy circumstances, devote themselves to the most necessary and most useful manufactures, which are dispersed through the whole empire. The most beautiful manufactures are established among the people of Tlascala. Their old capital, and the new

Productions of
Mexico.

new one, which is called Angelos, are the center of this industry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, callicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain slight silks; good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glasses, and a great deal of hardware. The arts must necessarily have made a greater progress in a province which hath been able to preserve its independence a long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with some management after the conquest, and which had always manifested superior penetration, whether owing to its climate or its government. To these advantages is joined that of its situation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who must necessarily pass over its territory when they go to purchase the European merchandise that is landed at Vera Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not supply them with, or what was sold too dear.

THE care of flocks affords a maintenance to some Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more distinguished employments. America, at the time it was discovered, had neither hogs, sheep, oxen, horses, nor even any domestic animal. Columbus carried some of these useful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally dispersed, and at Mexico more than in any other places. These have multiplied prodigiously. They count their horned cattle by thousands, whose skins are become an object of considerable exportation. The horses are degenerated, but the quality is compensated by the number. Hog's-lard

here substituted for butter. Sheeps wool is dry, coarse, and bad, as it is every where between the tropics. BOOK
VI.

THE vine and olive-tree have experienced the same degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at first prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the mother country. In 1706, permission was given to the Jesuits, and a little afterwards to the Marquis Del Valle, a descendent from Cortez, to cultivate them. The attempts have not proved successful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned; but no person has solicited the liberty of following an example, which did not promise any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more successful. Cotton, sugar, silk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven in some degree. The Spaniards are encouraged to prosecute the labours which these cultures require, from the happy circumstance of their having discovered iron mines which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as well as some mines of a kind of copper that is hard enough to serve for implements of husbandry. All these articles, however, for want of men and industry, are merely consumed within the country. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which make part of the trade of Mexico with other nations.

THE vanilla is a plant which, like ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, embraces them closely, and raises itself by their aid. Its stem is but very small in diameter, and not quite round.

Though

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Though it is very pliable, it is yet pretty hard. Its bark is thin, very close, and of a green colour. It is intersected like the vine, with knots which are at the distance of six or seven inches from each other. From these knots issue leaves resembling those of the laurel, but longer, larger, thicker, and more solid. They are of a bright green colour, their upper surface glossy, their under a little pale. The flowers are blackish.

A small pod about six inches long, and four lines broad, wrinkled, flabby, oily, thick though brittle, may be considered as the fruit of this plant. The inner part of this pod is lined with a pulp that is brownish, aromatic, somewhat acrid, and full of a black, oily, and balsamie liquor, in which an infinite number of black, shining, and almost imperceptible seeds float.

THE season for gathering the pods begins about the latter end of September, and lasts till the end of December. They are dried in the shade; and, when dry and fit for keeping, they are rubbed externally with a little oil of cocoa or of calba, to render them supple, to preserve them the better, and to prevent them from becoming too dry and brittle.

THIS is nearly all that is known of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate; a practice which has passed from the Mexicans to the Spaniards, and from them to other nations. That alone is esteemed which grows in the inaccessible mountains of New Spain. We are equally ignorant how many different species there are of it; which are the most valuable;

what is the soil which suits them best; how they are cultivated; and in what manner they are propagated. All these circumstances are known only to the natives of the country. It is pretended that they have kept this source of wealth to themselves, by taking an oath, that they would never reveal to their tyrants any thing respecting the cultivation of the vanilla, and would suffer the most cruel tortures rather than be perjured. It is more probable that they owe this advantage to the character of their conquerors, who, content with the riches they have acquired, and habituated to lead an indolent life, and to indulge themselves in ignorance, equally condemn both the curiosities of natural history, and the researches of those who apply to it. But they are better acquainted with indigo.

INDIGO is a kind of plant, whose root is three or four lines thick, and more than a foot long, of a faint smell something like parsley. From this root issues a single stem nearly of the same thickness, about two feet high, straight, hard, almost woody, covered with a bark slightly split, of a grey ash colour towards the bottom, green in the middle, reddish at the extremity, and without appearance of pith in the inside. The leaves, ranged in pairs around the stalk, are of an oval form, smooth, soft to the touch, furrowed above, of a deep green on the under side, and connected by a very short peduncle. From about one third of the stem to the extremity there are ears that are loaded with very small flowers

flowers from a dozen to fifteen, but destitute of smell. The pistil, which is in the midst of each flower, changes into a pod, in which the seeds are inclosed.

THIS plant requires a smooth rich soil, well tilled, and not too dry. The seed of it, which as to figure and colour resembles gun-powder, is sowed in little furrows that are about the breadth of the hough, two or three inches deep, at a foot's distance from each other, and in as straight a line as possible. Continual attention is required to pluck up the weeds, which would soon choak the plant. Though it may be sown in all seasons, the spring is commonly preferred. Moisture causes this plant to shoot above the surface in three or four days. It is ripe at the end of two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning-knives; and cut again at the end of every six weeks, if the weather is a little rainy. It lasts about two years, after which term it degenerates; it is then plucked up, and planted afresh.

As this plant soon exhausts the soil, because it does not absorb a sufficient quantity of air and dew to moisten the earth, it is of advantage to the planter to have a vast space which may remain covered with trees, till it becomes necessary to fell them, in order to make room for the indigo: for trees are to be considered as syphons, by means of which the earth and air reciprocally communicate to each other their fluid and vegetating substance, syphons, into which
the

the vapours and the juices being alternately drawn up, are kept in equilibrium. Thus while the sap ascends by the roots to the branches, the leaves draw in the air and vapours, which circulating through the fibres of the tree descend again into the earth, and restore to it in dew what it loses in sap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that, when there are no trees to preserve the fields in a proper state for the sowing of indigo, it is customary to cover those which are exhausted by this plant with potatoes or lianes, whose creeping branches preserve the freshness of the earth, and whose leaves when burnt renew its fertility.

INDIGO is distinguished into two kinds, the true and the bastard. Though the first is sold at a higher price on account of its superiority, it is usually advantageous to cultivate the other, because it is heavier. The first will grow in many different soils; the second succeeds best in those which are most exposed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and is destroyed by an insect frequently found on it; at other times, the leaves, which are the valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the space of twenty-four hours by caterpillars. This last misfortune, which is but too common, has given occasion to the saying, that the planters of indigo go to bed rich, and rise in the morning totally ruined.

THIS production ought to be gathered-in with great precaution, for fear of making the farina

that lies on the leaves, and which is very valuable, fall off by shaking it. When gathered, it is thrown into the steeping-vat, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty-four hours at furthest is completed. A cock is then turned, to let the water run into the second tub, called the mortar or pounding-tub. The steeping-vat is then cleaned out, that fresh plants may be thrown in; and thus the work is continued without interruption.

THE water which has run into the pounding-tub is found impregnated with a very subtile earth, which alone constitutes the dregs or blue substance that is the object of this process, and which must be separated from the useless salt of the plant, because this makes the dregs swim on the surface. To effect this, the water is forcibly agitated with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This part of the process requires the greatest precautions. If the agitation be discontinued too soon, the part that is used in dying, not being sufficiently separated from the salt, would be lost. If, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the complete separation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the salt reacting on the dregs would excite a second fermentation, that would alter the dye, spoil its colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. These accidents are prevented by a close attention to the least alterations

alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time in a clean vessel. When they perceive that the coloured particles collect by separating from the rest of the liquor, they leave off shaking the buckets, in order to allow time to the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to settle till the water is quite clear. Holes made in the tub at different heights are then opened one after another, and this useless water is let out:

THE blue dregs remaining at the bottom having acquired the consistence of a thick muddy liquid; cocks are then opened, which draw it off into the settler. After it is still more cleared of much superfluous water in this third and last tub, it is drained into sacks; from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter; now become of a thicker consistence, is put into chests, where it entirely loses its moisture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit for sale.

It is used in washing to give a blueish colour to linen: painters also employ it in their water colours; and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The ancients procured it from the East Indies; in modern times it has been transplanted into America. The cultivation of it, successively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, San Domingo, and Mexico. That which is known under the name of Guatimala indigo, from whence it comes, is the most

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

perfect of all. New Spain derives very considerable advantage from this plant; but it gains still more from the trade of cochineal.

THE nature of the cochineal, without which neither purple nor scarlet could be made, and which is found only in Mexico, hath been long unknown, even to nations who made the most use of it. The Spaniards, who are naturally reserved, and who become particularly mysterious in any circumstance concerning their colonies, kept a secret, which every thing induced them to believe was of importance to them. At last it became known, that it was an insect, of the size and form of a bug.

THIS insect, like all animals, has two sexes. The female is ill-shaped, tardy, and stupid; its eyes, mouth, antennæ, are fixed so deep, and are so concealed in the folds of the skin, that it is impossible to distinguish them without a microscope. On which account, this animal was for a long time supposed to be the seed of a plant.

THE male is very scarce, and is sufficient for three hundred females or more; it is active, small, and slender in comparison with the female; its neck is narrower than the head, and still narrower than the rest of the body. Its thorax is of an elliptic form, a little longer than the neck and head together, and flattened below; its antennæ are jointed, and out of each joint issue four slender hairs that are disposed in pairs on each side. It has six feet, each formed of distinct parts.

parts. From the posterior extremity of its body, two large hairs or bristles are extended, that are four or five times the length of the insect. It bears two wings that are fixed to the upper part of the thorax, which fall, like the wings of common flies, when it walks or rests. These wings, which are of an oblong form, are suddenly diminished in breadth at the point where they are connected to the body. They are strengthened by two long muscles, one of which extends itself on the outside all around the wing; and the other, which is internal and parallel to the former, seems interrupted towards the summit of the wings. The male is of a bright red; the female of a deeper colour.

THE shrub on which both live, called the Nopal or Indian fig, is armed with prickles, and is about five feet high. Its leaves are thick and oval; its flowers large, and its fruit is of the shape of a fig. It is filled with a red juice, to which the cochineal probably owes its colour.

THE Indian fig is commonly propagated from one or two of its leaves put in a hole, and covered with earth. The cultivation of it consists only in extirpating the weeds that surround it. It must often be renewed, because, the younger it is, the better and more considerable is its produce. It is found in various countries of Mexico, at Tlascalala, Chalula, Chiapa, and New Galicia; but it is not common. These people never plant it; and the cochineal, which is such a rude nature of itself produces, is called wild, and is of little or

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

no value. The Indians alone of Guaxaca devote themselves wholly to this species of industry. They are never discouraged, either by the continual attention it requires, or by the too common misfortunes to which it exposes them. Their intelligence, activity, and easy circumstances, enable them to support a bad harvest, and wait for a good one. In general, these crops are more regular in a dry soil, in which the nopal flourishes, and under a temperate sky, where the cochineal is exposed to fewer accidents, than in those parts of the province where the cold and heat are more sensibly felt.

As soon as the favourable season arrives, the Mexicans, if I may use the expression, sow the cochineals on the plant that is proper for them by fastening to it little nests of moss, that contain each twelve or fifteen insects. Three or four days after, they lay their little ones, which spread themselves with astonishing celerity over all the branches. They soon lose this activity, and are seen to fasten themselves to the most nutritive and best-exposed part of the leaf, from whence they do not stir till they are grown to their full size. They do not gnaw the leaf; they only puncture it, and extract the juice with a small trunk, with which nature has provided them for this purpose.

THREE crops of cochineal are made every year, which are so many new generations of this insect. The last produces only an indifferent cochineal, because it is mixed with detached parcels of the leaves, which have been scraped in order to take away the new-born insects, which otherwise it would

would be hardly possible to gather; and because the young cochineals are then mixed with the old; a circumstance which considerably diminishes their value. Before the rainy season comes on, the branches of the nopal are cut, in order to save the little insects which are on them. These are laid up in the houses, where the leaves maintain their freshness, as the leaves of all mucilaginous plants. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad season. As soon as that is passed, they are placed on the trees, where the vivifying freshness of the air soon makes them propagate.

As soon as the cochineals are gathered, they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The best is, to expose them to the sun for several days, by which means they acquire a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call *renegrida*. The second method is to put them in an oven, where they assume a greyish colour streaked with veins of purple, which has given them the name of *jaspeada*. But the most imperfect, which is what the Indians most generally practise, consists in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize; in which process they are frequently burnt, and are therefore called *negra*.

THOUGH the cochineal is classed in the animal kingdom, the species of all others the most likely to corrupt, yet it never spoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it has been preserved in all its virtue for ages. The high price it always bears should have excited the emulation of those nations which cultivate the

American islands, and of other people who inhabit regions whose temperature would be propitious to this insect, and to the plant on which it feeds. New Spain, however, has the sole possession of this rich production. Independent of what it furnishes Asia with, it sends every year to Europe about two thousand five hundred bags or sacks, which are sold at Cadiz, one with another, for * 3300 livres. This is a very considerable produce, which hardly costs the Spaniards any trouble. It should seem as if nature had freely bestowed upon them what they sell at a high price to other nations. She has been peculiarly bountiful to them, by granting them at the same time the productions which yield the most riches, and gold and silver, by which all productions are purchased.

The mines
of Mexico.

SUCH is the dominion which these shining and fatal metals have over us, that they have counterbalanced the infamy and execration which the plunderers of America justly deserved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potosi, no longer make us shudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the spirit of justice and the sentiments of humanity are inculcated in all our writings, and are become the invariable rule of our judgments; a navigator, who should come into our ports with a vessel laden with riches avowedly obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidst the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wisdom, which is so

* About 144 l.

much the boast of the present age? What is then that gold, which removes from us the idea of vice, and prevents us from feeling that sense of horror which the shedding of blood naturally impresses us with? There are undoubtedly some advantages annexed to a medium of exchange between nations, to an external representation of all sorts of value, to a common estimate of all labours. But would not greater advantages have arisen, if nations had continued in a state of tranquillity, detached from each other, ignorant, and hospitable, than thus to have become corrupted with the most ferocious of all passions?

THE origin of metals has not always been well understood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed, with greater reason, that they are formed successively. In fact, it is impossible to doubt, that nature is continually in action, and that she exerts herself with as much power in the bowels of the earth, as in the regions of the sky.

EVERY metal, according to the chemists, has for its principle an earth which constitutes and is peculiar to it. It presents itself to us, sometimes in the form that characterizes it, and sometimes under various appearances, when it requires a degree of habit and skill to recognize it. In the first case it is called native, in the second mineralized ore.

METALS, whether native or mineralized, are sometimes scattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been conveyed

veyed thither by great vulcanos, floods, and earthquakes, which are continually subverting our miserable planet. They are commonly found, sometimes in regular veins, and sometimes in detached masses, within the rocks and mountains where they were formed.

ACCORDING to the conjectures of naturalists, from these large caverns which are perpetually heated, there arise continual exhalations. These sulphureous and saline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate, and divide them; and put them in motion within the cavities of the earth. They unite again; and then, becoming too heavy to support themselves in the air, they fall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their several motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals; which they do not if they happen to be combined with foreign substances.

NATURE, which seems to have intended to conceal these metals, has not been able to secrete them from the avidity of man. From repeated observations, we are led to discover the places where there are mines. They are usually found in mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and soon fade; where trees are small and crooked; where the moisture of dews, rains, and even snows, is soon dried up; where sulphureous and mineral exhalations arise; where the waters are impregnated with vitriolic salts; and where the sands contain metallic particles. Though each of these marks, separately considered, be ambiguous, it seldom

seldom happens, when all of them are united, but that the earth contains some mine.

BOOK
VI.

BUT what are the terms on which we extract this treasure or this poison from those caverns where nature had concealed it? We must pierce rocks to an immense depth; we must dig subterraneous channels, to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every side; we must convey into immense galleries the wood of whole forests cut into props; we must support the vaults of these galleries against the enormous weight of the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and to bury in their ruins those avaricious and presumptuous men who constructed them; we must dig canals and aqueducts; we must invent hydraulic machines of astonishing and various powers, and all the several kinds of furnaces; we must hazard being suffocated or consumed by a vapour which takes fire from the glimmering flame of the lamps, without which the work could not be carried on; and we must at last perish by a consumption, which reduces human life to one half of its duration. If we consider how many observations, experiments, and trials, all these works imply, we shall carry the origin of the world far beyond its known antiquity. To shew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and silver, used in the earliest ages, is to amuse us with an idle story which can only impose upon children.

WHEN the labour of mineralogy is finished, that of metallurgy begins. Its object is to separate metals from each other, and to detach them from the extraneous bodies which envelope them.

IN

IN order to separate the gold from the stones which contain it, it is sufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus pulverized is afterwards triturated with quicksilver, which combines itself to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or sand, or even the earth, which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards distilled, which, on separating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the vessel in the state of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Native silver requires no other preparations.

BUT when silver is combined with other substances, or with metals of a different nature, great knowledge and consummate experience are requisite to purify it. Every circumstance authorises us to think that this art is unknown in the new world. It is also generally acknowledged, that the miners of Germany or Sweden would find, in a mine that has already been worked, more wealth than the Spaniard had already extracted out of it. They would enrich themselves by mines, which, through want of skill, have been rejected as insufficient to defray the expences of working them.

THE art of the Mexicans, such as it was, was yet infinitely inferior to that of their oppressors. They had consequently less silver than gold. These metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange: they were only objects of ornament, or mere curiosity.

FOR some time after their conquest, the Spaniards spared themselves the trouble, toil, and expences, that are inseparable from the working of mines,

mines. They wrested from the Mexicans all the metals which they had amassed from the foundation of their empire. The temples, the palaces of the nobility, the houses of private persons, the meanest hovels, were all searched and pillaged. Though the abhorrence the Indians had for their tyrants made them bury again in the ground great part of their treasure, or throw still more into the great lake and the rivers, yet avarice found enough to satisfy itself. This source being exhausted, it became necessary to attend to the mines.

THESE were at first searched-for in all parts, but especially on the sea-coasts. Experience having shewn that the mines nearest the ocean afforded least treasure, they were quitted with disgust. At present no mine is worked that is not at a very great distance from the northern sea, where it would be exposed to the incursions, and, perhaps, to the invasions of the Europeans. The mines that are found on the gulph of California appear to remain in perfect security, till these latitudes became better known and more frequented. The chief of them are in the provinces of Zacatecas, New Biscay, and Mexico, situated in the inland parts of the empire, where there are no navigable rivers, and where it is impossible for an enemy to penetrate by land. These mines may employ forty thousand Indians, under the direction of four thousand Spaniards.

THE mines belong to the person who discovers them. The only regulation he is subject to is to have samples approved by the government. As
much

much of the ground is granted to him as he chooses; but he is obliged to give to the owner of the land a piaſtre, or five livres five ſous * per foot. The third of what he purchaſes belongs to government; which, after having abſurdly attempted to get it worked on its own account, at length diſpoſes of it to any one who will purchaſe it, giving the miner the preference. All the mines that are abandoned become alſo the property of the crown.

THE government receives 420 livres † for every quintal of mercury that is uſed. In vain have intelligent people repreſented that this exceſſive tax neceſſarily diſcouraged induſtry; no attention has been paid to their remonſtrances. All the effect they have had is the obtaining of two years credit, for which, however, intereſt is required. It is ſeldom that thoſe who undertake to work mines are able to proceed without theſe indulgences. Theſe uncertain and hazardous enterprizes are ſcarcely ever attempted, unleſs by men whoſe affairs are embarrasſed, or who are totally ruined.

THE point which diſcourages men of prudence and good circumſtances is the obligation of paying to government a fifth of the ſilver, and a tenth of the gold, they have extracted from the earth. The ſtate had a long time objected to this difference of taxation; but has been obliged to conſent to it, becauſe the gold mines, being more precarious than thoſe of ſilver, were totally abandoned. Both will ſoon be unable to pay the tri-

* About 4s. 7d.

† 18l. 7s. 6d.

bute imposed on them. As gold and silver become more common in trade, their value is diminished, and they represent a smaller proportion of merchandise. This decreasing value of metals would have been attended with still greater consequences, if the expences of working the mines had not been gradually lessened. This oeconomy is carried very near as far as it can go; and whenever that happens, the court of Madrid will be under a necessity of lowering the duties, unless it submits to have the best mines neglected, as the indifferent ones have been. Perhaps, the government will soon be obliged to content itself with two reals or twenty-six sous * per mark, which it receives for the duties of stamping and coining.

THE mint of Mexico annually coins about 65,000,000 livres †; the sixth part nearly in gold, the rest in silver. About the half of this passes into Europe, a sixth part into the East Indies, a twelfth into the Spanish islands. The remainder is insensibly conveyed into foreign colonies, or circulates through the Spanish dominions; where it serves the purposes of the inland trade, and the payment of the taxes, which are considerable.

EVERY male Indian, from eighteen to fifty, pays a poll-tax of 11 livres 16 sous ‡, of which eight-ninths pass into the coffers of government, and the rest is destined to various uses. The Mestees, who are deemed Indians for the two first generations, and the free Mulattoes, are subject

Taxes established
in Mexico.

* 1s. 2d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

† 2,843,750 l.

‡ About 10s.

to the same taxation. Negroe slaves are exempted from this, as the government receives 280 livres * for each on their entrance into the colony.

THE Spaniards, who are not yet so far degraded as to have a personal tribute imposed upon them, are subject to all the other taxes. The most considerable of these is that of thirty-three per cent. on the value of all the merchandise that is sent from Europe, which retains twenty-five of this under divers denominations, and eight of it is paid upon the landing of the goods in America. Notwithstanding this ruinous tax, they are still subject to the *alcavala*.

THE *alcavala* is a duty on every thing that is sold or exchanged, and is paid as often as the sale or exchange takes place. It was established in the mother country in 1341, and it hath gradually advanced to ten per cent. on the value of merchandise sold in wholesale, and even to fourteen on all that is disposed of in retail. Philip II. after the destruction of his fleet, so well known under the pompous title of the Invincible, was determined by his necessities to introduce this taxation into Mexico, as well as the other colonies. Though it ought to have been only a temporary tax, yet it has continued ever since. It is true, that it has not been augmented, and that it remains at two and a half per cent. as it was at first settled. The *cruciade* has not had the same stability.

THE *cruciade* is a bull which allows great indulgences, permits the use of eggs, butter, and

cheese, during lent. The government, to whom the court of Rome gave up the benefits arising from it, had divided the persons who were willing to avail themselves of it into four classes. This indulgence was paid, by those who lived by their industry, at the rate of two livres six sous *. Those, whose capital amounted to 10,500 livres †, paid five livres five sous ‡; those, who were worth more than 58,600 livres §, paid ten livres ten sous ||; the viceroy, and persons in the high offices of state, paid fifty-two livres ten sous **. It was left to every man's conscience, who was apprized that nothing would be gained by not proportioning his contribution to his fortune. Mexico alone then paid about 2,600,000 livres ††. It is probable that this superstition has since declined, as the bull was fixed in 1556 by the ministry at forty sous ‡‡ for persons of every rank. Government obliges no one to apply for the indulgence; but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should not have purchased it; and perhaps there is not in all Spanish America a man sufficiently enlightened, or bold enough, to oppose this tyranny.

ONE species of oppression, not so patiently submitted to, is the duty lately imposed on salt and tobacco. The people, who suffered their former injuries without murmuring, have been highly incensed at these innovations. One of them ap-

* About 2s.

† Near 460l.

‡ About 4s.

§ About 2560l.

|| About 9s. 2d.

** About 2l. 4s.

†† Near 214,000l.

‡‡ 12. 9d.

peared so repugnant to their natural rights, and the other was so contrary to one of their most favourite inclinations, that, though long trained to submission, they at length revolted. The atrocious conduct of the farmers of the revenues greatly added to the discontent. It has shewn itself from one end of the empire to the other, and has at last even reached Europe. Some means have been used to palliate this evil; but the minds of the people are still in a degree of ferment that the mother country will not easily appease without some sacrifice. One of the most agreeable to its colonies would be that of stamped paper.

INDEPENDENT of the regular tributes which Spain exacts of her colonies, she raises in times of distress, under the denomination of loan, considerable sums, of which she hath never paid either the interest or the capital. This oppression, which began in the reign of Philip II. hath been continued to our time. It was more frequently repeated under Philip V. than in the course of the other reigns, which contributed not a little to render the French name odious in these countries. The tax, which was levied on all who possessed any fortune, was more severe at Mexico than any where else; because the Europeans, Creoles, Mestees, Mulattoes, and especially the Indians, were there in more affluent circumstances. The public prosperity has been greatly diminished in this country by these revenue laws, and is every day still more impaired by the rapaciousness of the clergy.

THE clergy rigorously collect the tenth of every produce. The functions of their profession are paid them at an extravagant price. Their lands are immense, and every day they acquire a greater extent of territory. They are thought to be in possession of the fourth of the revenues of the empire. The bishop of Angelos alone has an income of 1,260,000 livres *. By this wealth the number of ecclesiastics has increased to such a degree, that they now constitute the fifth part of the white people. Some of them were born in the colony ; but the greatest part are adventurers come from Europe, in order to withdraw themselves from the authority of their superiors, or to make their fortune expeditiously.

THE revenue of the crown is not what it ought to be. The duties fixed on importations from Cadiz and on the ores, the quicksilver, the poll-tax, the imposts, the royal domain, are such great objects, that we cannot avoid being greatly surprized, when we see that the sovereign annually draws from Mexico, though the best-conducted of his possessions, no more than about 6,300,000 livres †. The rest, that is to say, almost the whole, is absorbed by the civil and military government of the country, which are both in the utmost disorder.

THE finances are a prey to the vast number of agents that are stationed every where ; to corregidores who have the administration of provinces ; to the commandants of towns ; to three superior

* About 55,100*l*.† 276,000*l*.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

councils of justice, known by the name of Audiencias; to men invested with full power, or to inferiors, who gain the confidence of persons in office. A part of these plunders comes to Europe; the remainder serves to maintain the pride, luxury, indolence, and profligacy, of a few Mexican towns, but chiefly of the capital.

THE Mexicans, who for a time might have been at a loss to determine whether the Spaniards were a band of plunderers or a conquering people, saw their capital almost totally destroyed by those cruel wars in which it was engaged. Cortez soon rebuilt it; and it has since been extended and embellished.

ITS streets are broad, strait, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses are roomy enough, but have neither convenience nor ornament. None of the public edifices, that are shewn with the greatest ostentation to travellers, recall to the remembrance the finer days of architecture, nor even the better remains of the Gothic times. The principal squares have a fountain in the center, and are pretty regular: but this is all their merit. There is a walk with a jet d'eau, where eight avenues meet, where the trees have a form and foliage not very agreeable to the eye. Superstition has amassed treasures from all the quarters of the globe in numberless churches, though there is not one that raises the soul to any sublime ideas, or that can fill the heart with pleasing sentiments.

THE air of this city is very temperate; woollen clothing is worn there all the year. The least precautions

precautions are sufficient to prevent any inconveniences from the heat. Charles V. asked a Spaniard, on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between summer and winter: *Just as long*, replied he, with great truth and wit, *as it takes to pass out of sunshine into the shade.*

THE city is built in the center of a great lake; a very narrow slip of land divides it into two parts. That part of the lake whose water is soft, calm, and full of fish, falls into the other which is salt, generally agitated, and without fish. The circumference of this whole lake, which is unequal in its extent, is about thirty leagues.

THERE is no generally received opinion with regard to the origin of these waters. According to the most common and probable one, they issue from a large and lofty mountain situated to the south-west of Mexico, and the salt water runs through a tract impregnated with minerals, which communicate to it that quality.

BEFORE the conquest, Mexico, and many other towns situated on the border of the lake, were exposed to inundations, which rendered them dangerous to live in. Dikes, constructed with incredible expence and labour, were not always sufficient to divert the torrents which poured down from the mountains. The Spaniards have been subject to the same calamities. Most of their buildings, though constructed with care, and supported on piles, after a few years, sink four, five, or six feet in a soil that is not firm enough to support them.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

THESE inconveniences suggested the idea of a contrivance for draining off the waters. Accounts, that were prodigiously exaggerated, assure us that in 1604 four hundred seventy-one thousand one hundred and fifty-four Indians were employed in digging a canal for this purpose. In order to raise a fund sufficient to answer the expences, one hundredth part of the value of houses, lands, and merchandise, was exacted; a tax hitherto unknown in America. Ignorance, discouragements, and particular interests, made this noble and wise undertaking miscarry.

THE viceroy Ladeyrera, in 1635, thought that it would be of advantage, and even absolutely necessary, to build Mexico on another spot. Avarice, incapable of making any sacrifice; pleasure, ever afraid of interrupting its enjoyments; idleness, which dreads trouble; all the passions united themselves to thwart an idea, which in itself was liable to some objections.

THE new efforts that have since been made, to render living in this country as safe as it is agreeable, have not proved altogether successful: whether this may be owing to their not having been properly exerted, or that nature has thrown insurmountable obstacles in the way, Mexico remains still exposed to the fury of the waters; and the dread of inundations has greatly diminished its population. Most historians assure us, that it formerly contained more than two hundred thousand souls; at present it has not above fifty thousand. This number is composed of Spaniards, Mestees, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, of such

such a diversity of heterogeneous races from the white to the black, that among an hundred faces one shall hardly find two of the same colour.

BEFORE this emigration, riches had increased in Mexico to an incredible degree. Every thing which in other countries is made of iron and copper, was here made of silver or gold. These brilliant metals, as well as pearls and precious stones, were employed to adorn their horses and servants, were used for the most common utensils, and for the meanest purposes. The manners of the country, which are always conformable to the luxury that prevails, corresponded with this stile of romantic magnificence. The women, in their palaces, were waited upon by thousands of slaves; and never appeared in public without a retinue which amongst us is reserved for the majesty of a throne. To these extravagancies the men added profusions still greater for negro women whom they publicly raised to the rank of their mistresses. This luxury, which was so enormous in the ordinary course of life, exceeded all bounds upon occasion of the slightest festival. General pride then exerted itself, and each man lavished millions as an excuse for his own. The crimes, necessary to support this extravagance, were previously atoned for; as superstition had pronounced every man holy and just who should contribute liberally to the churches.

THE riches, and the pomp naturally attendant upon them, must necessarily have diminished at Mexico, in proportion as those who possessed them removed to Angelos and other towns. The

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

advantages, however, which this capital enjoys of being the center of the empire, the seat of government, the place where the coin is struck, the residence of the greatest proprietors of land and of the most opulent merchants, have always occasioned the principal affairs of the kingdom to be transacted here.

Connections of Mexico with the rest of America, with the East Indies, and with Europe.

THE trade which Mexico carries on with the other parts of America is much confined. By the north sea it receives from Maracaybo and Caracoo cocoa greatly superior to its own, and negroes by the way of the Havannah and Carthagena; it gives in exchange meal and silver.

ITS connections with the South Sea are of greater utility to it, without being much more considerable. Originally Peru was allowed to send annually to New Spain two vessels, whose united cargoes were not to exceed one million ten thousand livres *. This trade was some time afterwards reduced to half. It was totally suppressed in 1636, on pretence that it prejudiced the trade of the mother country by the quantity of East India goods it imported. The merchants of Lima complained a long time, but ineffectually, of a barbarous law, that deprived them of the double advantage of selling the superfluities of their commodities, and of receiving those they wanted. The communication between the two colonies was at length restored, but with restrictions which prove that the government had not been actuated by wise and political motives, but had only

* Above 44,000 l.

yielded

yielded to importunity. Since this period, some vessels, dispatched from Callao and Guayaquil, carry cocoa, wines, and brandies, to Acapulco and Sonsonate on the coast of Guatemala, and bring back pitch, tar, arnotto, indigo, cochineal, iron, the haberdashery wares of Angelos, and as many contraband goods as possible from the Philippine islands, so celebrated in Europe on account of the connections which they have with Mexico. The importance of this communication seems to require that we should trace its origin.

WHEN the court of Madrid, whose ambition increased with their prosperity, had formed the plan of a great establishment in Asia, their attention was seriously engaged in considering of expedients to insure its successes. This project was necessarily attended with great difficulties. The riches of America so powerfully attracted the Spaniards, who consented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear possible to engage them to settle at the Philippines, unless it was agreed to give them a share in the treasures of those islands. This sacrifice was resolved upon. The rising colony was authorised to send every year into America India goods, in exchange for metals.

THIS unrestrained freedom was attended with such important consequences, that the jealousy of the mother-country was excited. Tranquillity was in some measure restored, by restraining to 3,150,000 livres * the trade allowed to

* Near 138,000 l.

be carried on in future. This sum was divided into twelve thousand equal shares. Every head of a family was to have one, and persons in office a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities were included in this arrangement, according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility. Five hundred of these shares were allowed to the Jesuits, whose employments and enterprizes seemed to require greater encouragement.

THE vessels which departed at first from the island of Cebu, and afterwards from the island of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. Trade-winds were discovered, which opened a much shorter passage to Mexico; and this branch of commerce was transacted on its coast, where it was settled.

EVERY year, in the middle of July, a galleon is sent out from the port of Manilla, which is commonly from eighteen hundred to two thousand tons burden. After getting clear of a multitude of islands and rocks which delay its course, it steers east-north-east, in order to meet with the west winds in thirty degrees latitude, which carry it on in a straight course to the place of its destination. This vessel, which is very heavy laden, is six months on her passage, because the sailors who are on board, from their extreme timidity, never carry the main-sail in the night-time, and often lower all their sails without the least occasion. At last the ship arrives at Mexico.

THE

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

443

BOOK
VI.

THE coasts of this great empire are not like those of Peru, where the vicinity and heights of the Cordeleras afford a perpetual spring, and cause regular and mild winds to blow. As soon as the ship has passed the latitude of Panama, the free communication of the atmosphere, from east to west, not being any longer interrupted by this prodigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. In fact, navigation in these latitudes is safe and easy from the middle of October to the beginning of May; but, during the rest of the year, the violent squalls of the westerly wind, the dreadful storms, the excessive rains, the suffocating heats, the total calms; all these obstacles, which are either combined, or succeed each other, render the sea troublesome, and even dangerous. Throughout this whole extent of coast, which comprehends more than six hundred leagues, there is not a single bark to be seen, nor even the least canoe, either for trade or fishing. Even the ports, which are scattered up and down here, are open, defenceless, and exposed to the insults of any pirate who may be inclined to attack them. The port of Acapulco, where the galleons arrive, is the only one that has attracted the attention of government.

SHIPS arrive there by two inlets, separated from each other by a small island: the entrance into them in the day is by means of a sea-breeze, and the sailing out in the night-time is effected by a land-breeze. It is defended only by a bad fort, forty-two pieces of cannon, and a garrison of sixty men. It is equally extensive, safe, and commodious,

dious. The basin which forms this harbour is surrounded by lofty mountains, which are so dry that they are even destitute of water. The air here is burning, heavy, and unwholesome, to which no persons can habituate themselves, except certain negroes that are born under a similar climate, or some mulattoes. The number of inhabitants in this feeble and miserable colony is considerably increased upon the arrival of the galleons; traders resorting here from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange European toys, their own cochineal, and about ten millions* of silver, for spices, muslins, printed linens, silks, perfumes, and the gold works of Asia. After staying here about three months, the vessel resumes its course to the Philippine islands before the first of April, with one or two companies of infantry, that are appointed to recruit the garrison of Manilla. Part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony; the rest is distributed among the nations which had contributed to form its cargo.

THE long passage, which the galleons have to make, has occasioned the necessity of looking out for places where they might take in refreshments. The first that has been met with of this kind is on the route from Acapulco to the Philippines, in those islands known at first by the name of the Ladrões, and since by that of Marianne islands. They were discovered by Magellan in 1521. They were at first neglected; the galleons afterwards

* 437,500 l.

used to put in there for refreshment; but there was no regular settlement made in them till the year 1678.

THESE islands are situated at the extremity of the South Sea, near four hundred leagues to the east of the Philippines. Notwithstanding their position in the torrid zone, the climate is moderately temperate. The air is pure, the sky serene, and the soil fruitful. Before their intercourse with the Europeans, the inhabitants, who were always naked, lived only on fruits, roots, and fish. As fishing was their usual and sole occupation, they had constructed canoes, more perfect than any that have ever been found in the rest of the world.

THE people, who are very numerous, and are diffused in twelve islands, that are the only inhabited ones in this archipelago, have gradually diminished since the invasion of the Spaniards, either by contagious disorders, or by the bad usage which they have experienced. The remainder, to the number of two thousand seven hundred persons, have collected themselves in the center of the island of Guam, which may have from twenty-five to thirty leagues of circumference. It is garrisoned by a hundred men, who are appointed to defend two small forts that are situated on two harbours, one of which receives a small vessel, which every two years arrives here from the Philippine islands, and the other is destined to furnish refreshments to the galleon. This last fort is so bad a one, that the vessel never stays here more than two days, and in that short time it is often exposed to very great dangers. It is very extraordinary, that Spain
has

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

has not endeavoured to discover a better harbour; or very singular, that no one has been found in such a multitude of islands. California presents an asylum more secure to the galleons that sail from the Philippine islands to Acapulco.

CALIFORNIA is properly a long neck of land, which proceeds from the northern coasts of America, and runs along between east and south as far as the torrid zone: it is washed on each side by the pacific ocean. The part that is known of this peninsula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

It is impossible that, throughout such an extent of country, the nature of the soil and the temperature of the air should be every where the same. It may be said, however, that, in general, the climate here is dry and excessively hot; the ground bare, stony, mountainous, sandy, and consequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and breeding cattle. Amidst the small number of trees that are found here, the most useful is the pitahaya, the produce of which constitutes the principal food of the Californians. Its branches, which are fluted and perpendicular, have no leaves, and it is from the stems that the fruit grows. It is prickly like the Indian chestnut; but its pulp resembles that of the fig, with this advantage, that it is much sweeter and more delicate.

THE sea, which is richer than the land, swarms with most excellent fish of every kind. But the circumstance which renders the gulph of California of more importance is the pearls, which, in the
fishing-

fishing-season, attract the inhabitants of all the provinces of New Spain.

THE Californians are well-made, and very strong. They are extremely pusillanimous, inconstant, indolent, stupid, and even insensible. They are more swarthy than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civilised life of society subverts or totally changes the order and laws of nature, since we find under the temperate zone a savage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

BEFORE the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and that of their government was such as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an assemblage of several cottages, more or less numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were strangers even to filial obedience. No kind of dress was in use among the men; but the women covered those parts which nature intended should be concealed with extreme care.

WHETHER these particulars were known or not, certain it is that Mexico was no sooner reduced, and tranquillity established, than the plan was laid for the conquest of California. Cortez landed there in 1526. He had not even time to take a survey of it, because he was obliged to return to his government, where the report of his death had disposed the people to a general insurrection. The several attempts that have since been made, to form an establishment there, have all been unsuccessful. The endeavours of the court were
not

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

not more fortunate than those of individuals. If we pay the least attention to the spirit that directed these enterprises, we shall find that want of humanity, courage, and perseverance, was the cause of these misfortunes. There was not a single expedition that was not ill-concerted or imprudently conducted.

SPAIN, dispirited with her losses and expences, had entirely given up the conquest of California, when the Jesuits in 1697 solicited permission to undertake it. As soon as they had obtained the consent of government, they began to execute a plan of legislation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the soil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. Their proceedings were not directed by fanaticism. They arrived among the savages whom they intended to civilize with curiosities that might amuse them; corn for their food, and apparel which could not but please them. The hatred these people bore to the Spanish name could not support itself against these demonstrations of benevolence. They testified their acknowledgments as much as their want of sensibility and their inconstancy would permit them. These faults were partly overcome by the religious instructors, who pursued their project with a degree of warmth and resolution peculiar to their society. They made themselves carpenters, masons, weavers, and husbandmen; and by these means succeeded in imparting knowledge, and in some measure a taste for the most useful arts, to this savage people, who have been all successively formed into one body.

body. In 1745, they composed forty-three villages, that were separated from each other by the barrenness of the soil and the want of water. This republic will augment, in proportion as the successors of those who formed it shall prosecute their labours towards the north, where, according to a plan that was judiciously concerted, a communication was to be established between the missionaries of the peninsula, and those of the continent. They are only divided by the river Colorado.

THE inhabitants of these small villages subsist principally on corn and pulse, which they cultivate; and on the fruits and domestic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is an object of continual attention. The Indians have each their field, and the property or what they reap; but such is their want of foresight, that they would squander in a day what they had gathered, if the missionary did not take upon himself to distribute it to them as they stand in need of it. They already manufacture some coarse stuffs. The necessaries they are in want of are purchased with pearls, which they fish in the gulph, and with wine nearly resembling that of Madeira, which they sell to New Spain and to the galleons; and the use of which, experience hath shewn, it is necessary to prohibit among them.

A few laws, that are very simple, are sufficient to regulate this rising state. In order to enforce the observance of them, the missionary chuses the most intelligent person of the village; who is empowered to whip and imprison, the only punishments of which they have any knowledge.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

IN all California there are only two garrisons, each consisting of thirty men, and a soldier with every missionary. These troops were chosen by the legislators, and are under their orders, though they are paid by the government. The court of Madrid saw no inconvenience in leaving these trifling forces in the hands of those who had acquired their confidence; and it has been demonstrated to them, that nothing but this expedient could have prevented the oppression of their new subjects.

THEY will continue happy as long as no mines are discovered in their territory. If there are any mines, as there is great reason to presume from the number there are on the other side of the gulph, whenever they are found out, the edifice, that has been reared with such labour and understanding, will be at once subverted. These people, like many others, will disappear from the face of the earth. The gold, which the Spanish government would draw from California, would deprive it of the advantages which its policy may now find in the labours of its missionaries; who should rather be encouraged to pursue their useful undertakings. They might, perhaps, enable the court of Madrid to build forts, which would allow them to behold with tranquillity the discovery of that passage by the north west to the Pacific ocean, which the English have so long been in search of. It has also been imagined, that these ramparts might prove a barrier against the Russians, who, in 1741, advanced within twelve degrees of Cape Mendocino, the most northern part that has hitherto been known

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

451

BOOK
VI.

known of California. But if it had been remarked that this voyage could not be undertaken but from the seas of Kamtschatka, it would have been evident that none but weak armaments could be fitted out there, which could only serve to gratify curiosity, and consequently could not occasion the least disquietude.

AN advantage more certain, and less remote, is the facility which California gives of reducing the provinces that extend from the other side of the gulph to the river Colorado. These rich countries are at such a distance from Mexico, and so difficult of access, that it appeared as dangerous to attempt the conquest of them, as useless to execute it. The liberty, the safety of the sea of California, ought to encourage the undertaking, will furnish the means of succeeding in it, and secure the advantages accruing from it. Philosophers themselves will invite the court of Madrid to undertake these expeditions, as soon as they shall have seen them solemnly abjure those fanatical and destructive principles upon which their policy has hitherto been founded.

BUT till Spain shall adopt these important views, California serves for a port of refreshment for ships that sail from the Philippine islands to Mexico. Cape St. Lucas, situated at the southern extremity of the peninsula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refreshments, and signals which give them information of the appearance of any enemy in these latitudes, which are very dangerous, and where they have been the most frequently attacked. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived there for the first time; where it

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

has ever since been ordered, or compelled by necessity to stop.

THE system, adopted by all the states of Europe, of holding colonies in the most absolute dependence on the mother country, has always made the connexions of Mexico with Asia suspicious to several of the Spanish politicians. The opinion which has prevailed, and is still maintained, that it is not possible to preserve the Philippine islands, without this communication, has alone prevented its being broken. Nothing more has been done than to limit it, by hindering Peru from having any share in it. This vast empire has by severe and repeated laws been deprived of the advantage of drawing directly from the east the merchandise it wanted, and even of the liberty of deriving it indirectly from New Spain.

THESE restraints were disapproved by the bold and fertile genius of Alberoni. Full of the most extensive views for the prosperity and glory of that monarchy which he attempted to restore, he purposed to retain in it the treasures of the new world, to which it had hitherto served only as a mart. According to his plan, the east was to furnish all the articles of dress to the Spanish colonies and to the mother country itself, which would have received them through the channel of its colonies. He expected with reason that those powers, whose interests this arrangement would prejudice, and whose trade it would ruin, would endeavour to obstruct it; but he made preparations for opposing their attacks in the European seas, and he had already given orders
for

for putting the coasts and harbours of the South Sea in a condition not to fear the efforts of any feeble squadrons that might come upon them.

BOOK
VI.

THESE views were defective in point of judgment. Alberoni, hurried away by the enthusiasm of his opinions, and by his hatred against those nations which were desirous of opposing his political designs, did not perceive, that the silks and linens, that would be imported into Spain by the way he proposed; would bear such an excessive price as would necessarily put a stop to the consumption of them. With regard to the project of cloathing the people of North and South America from Asia, it appears to be a very sensible one.

THE colonists would then be clothed more agreeably, at a cheaper rate, and in a manner better adapted to the climate; the wars of Europe would not expose them to the risk of being in want of the most common and necessary articles of life; they would become more wealthy, be better affected to their mother country, and better enabled to defend themselves against any enemies that might attack them. These enemies themselves would prove less formidable; because they would gradually lose the strength which the furnishing of Peru and Mexico with provisions procures them. In a word, Spain, by receiving on India goods the same duties as it receives on those with which it is furnished by its rivals, would lose no part of its revenues. It might even, upon emergencies, obtain from its colonies succours, which at present they

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

have neither the disposition nor the power of granting. We shall insist no longer on the commerce of Mexico with the East Indies; let us now speak of its connections with Europe by the north sea, and begin with that which the productions of Guatimala form.

THE province of Guatimala, which is one of the largest of New Spain, was conquered in 1524 and 1525 by Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortez's lieutenants. He built in it several towns, and in particular the capital, which bears the name of the province. It is situated in a valley about three miles broad, and bounded by two mountains that are pretty lofty. From the mountain towards the south run several rivulets and fountains, which delightfully refresh the villages that are situated on the declivity, and keep up a perpetual succession of flowers and fruits. The aspect of the mountain, that is to the north, is terrible. There is no verdure ever seen upon it; nothing but ashes, and calcined stones. A kind of rumbling noise, which the inhabitants ascribe to the boiling of metals that are in a state of fusion within the caverns of the earth, is continually heard. From these internal furnaces issue flames and torrents of sulphur, which fill the air with an horrible infection. Guatimala, according to the expression of the country, is situated between paradise and hell.

Its position, and its distance from Mexico and Guadalajara, have occasioned it to be fixed upon for the seat of an audience, which extends its jurisdiction over three hundred leagues to the south,

south, an hundred to the north, sixty to the east, and twelve to the west, towards the South Sea. The advantages it derived from this distinction soon formed it into a considerable colony, which took care to improve those gifts that nature had bestowed upon it. There is no country in this part of the new world where she hath lavished her blessings with greater profusion. The air here is very wholesome, and the climate very temperate. Poultry and game are in the greatest plenty, and of an excellent flavour. No spot on the earth produces better corn. The rivers, lakes, and sea, every where abound with excellent fish. The oxen are here multiplied to such a degree, that it is become necessary to kill all that are grown wild on the mountains, lest they should prejudice agriculture by their excessive numbers.

THIS fertility, however, is not the circumstance that renders Guatimala so valuable to the mother country. Spain has properly no connection with this colony but by means of the indigo she acquires from it; which is far superior to any that the rest of America produces. In the cultivation of it some negroes are employed, and a part of those Indians who have survived the tyranny of their conquerors. The labours of these slaves annually supply Europe alone with two thousand five hundred furrors of indigo, which sell one with another at Cadiz for 1680 livres *. This rich produce is conveyed upon

* 73 l. 10 s.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

mules, with some other articles of less consequence, to the town of St. Thomas, situated sixty leagues from Guatemala, at the extremity of a very deep lake which loses itself in the gulph of Honduras. Here these commodities always remain till they are exchanged for others that are brought from Europe in vessels of a moderate size, which commonly arrive in the months of July and August. On their return, their cargo is increased by some skins, some cassia, and some sarsaparilla, which are the only articles the province of Honduras furnishes, though it be an hundred and fifty leagues long, and sixty or fourscore broad. The reputation it had first acquired, from its golden mines, was but transitory: they sank into total oblivion, after having proved the grave of nearly a million of Indians. The territory these Indians inhabited remains uncultivated and waste; it is now the poorest part of all America. Both the people and the lands were sacrificed to the search after gold; and the gold itself by no means answered the expectations that were formed of it.

GUATEMALA nearly furnishes the whole of those 6,000,000 livres *, which is the amount of its productions joined to those of Honduras. The lake on which these riches are all accumulated is entirely open, though it would have been very easy to have secured it from every attack; more especially as its entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each side within

* 262,500 l.

cannon-shot of each other. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till she has suffered for her negligence; which she might easily be made to do.

BOOK
VL

THE vessels that should undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect safety in the road. A thousand or twelve hundred men, landing at St. Thomas, might pass over the mountains for the space of fifteen leagues, where they would find commodious roads and subsistence. The rest of their way would be across plains that are well peopled and plentiful. They would then arrive at Guatimala, in which there is not a single soldier, nor the least fortification. Its forty thousand souls, Indians, Negroes, Mestees, and Spaniards, who have never seen an enemy, would be incapable of making the least resistance. In order to save their lives, they would deliver up the immense riches that they have been accumulating for more than two centuries, which would amount at least to thirty millions *. The troops would reembark with this booty, and, if they chose it, with hostages that would secure their retreat. The trade of Campeachy would be exposed to the same invasion, if it were of sufficient importance to justify the undertaking.

BETWEEN the gulphs of Campeachy and Honduras we find a large peninsula, called Jutacan. Though this peninsula has neither river nor brook, the water is every where so near to the land, and the shells are in such great abundance, that

* 1,312,500 L

it is manifest this immense space was formerly part of the sea. When the Spaniards discovered it, they found few inhabitants there, little agriculture, and no metals; in consequence of which it was despised. They afterwards found that the trees which grew there were fit for dying; and they therefore built the town of Campeachy upon it, which became the mart of the valuable production that gave it its name.

If this tree were not so thick, it would not be unlike the white thorn. Its leaves are small, and of a pale-green colour. The inner part of the tree, which is at first red, becomes black after it has been felled some time. It is only this inner part that gives the black and the violet colour.

CAMPEACHY has been indebted to the single traffick of this article for the advantage of being a very considerable market. It received every year several vessels, whose cargoes were distributed in the inland countries, and which took in return wood and metals which this exchange drew thither. This prosperity was continually increasing till the time that the English settled at Jamaica.

AMIDST the vast numbers of pirates which were continually coming from this famous island, several went to cruise in the bay of Campeachy, to intercept the vessels which sailed there. These plunderers were so little acquainted with the value of the wood, which was the only production of the country, that, when they found barks laden with

with it, they took away nothing but the iron utensils. One of them having carried off a large vessel, which had nothing else but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, designing only to equip it as a privateer; when, contrary to his expectation, he sold at a very high price the wood which he had thought to be of so little value, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. After this discovery, the pirates, who were not successful at sea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they took on board the piles of wood which were always found ranged on the shore.

THE peace of the English with Spain having put a stop to the depredations of these pirates, several of them employed themselves in cutting Indian wood. Cape Catoche furnished them at first with abundance. As soon as they perceived it diminish, they went to settle between Tabasco and the river of Champeton, about Lake Triste, and in Beef Island, which is very near it. In 1675 their numbers amounted to two hundred and sixty. Their ardour, which at first was extreme, soon gave way; and the habit of idleness prevailed. As the greatest part of them were excellent marksmen, the chase became their predominant passion; and their former inclination to plunder was re-kindled in them by this exercise. They soon began to make inroads into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women they appointed to wait on them; and the men they sold at Jamaica, or other islands. The Spaniards, roused from their lethargy by these enormities, surprised

surprised them in the midst of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Most of them were even taken in their cottages: they were led prisoners to Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines.

Those who escaped took refuge in the gulph of Honduras, where they were joined by some wandering freebooters of North America. In process of time they increased to fifteen hundred men. The state of independence and plenty in which they lived rendered the marshy country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchments secured them and their provisions; and they confined themselves to those employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country, to cut wood, without being well armed.

THEIR industry was crowned with the greatest success. In reality, the run of wood, which had been sold as high as nine hundred livres *, was gradually fallen to a very low price; but this disadvantage in the price was compensated by the quantity that was sold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, strong liquors, linens, and cloaths; or to the English colonies of North America, which supplied them with provisions. This commerce, which was always carried on by smugglers, and which occasioned much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting logwood was secured to

* 39*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

461
BOOK
VI
}

Great Britain; but she was not permitted to raise forts, and was even obliged to destroy those which had been built. The court of Madrid seldom hath made any concessions with greater regret than this of establishing in the center of its possessions an active, powerful, and ambitious nation. But there is an expedient to render even this concession almost useless.

THE province of Yucatan is divided from north-east to south-west, that is, throughout almost its whole extent, by a chain of mountains. To the north of these mountains is the bay of Campeachy, whose dry and thirsty soil produces logwood of a superior quality, which is sold at all markets at near double the price of that which the English cut at the southern bay of Honduras, where the rich and almost marshy soil produces only a bastard kind, and which yields much less dye. If, as the expressions of the treaty, which admit of some latitude, lead us to apprehend, Great Britain hath acquired only the right of settling in those places which its subjects had usurped, Spain may put an end to her anxiety on this point, by encouraging the cutting of its own wood, which is more valuable, in such a manner as to furnish all Europe with a sufficient quantity for their consumption. By this judicious policy, she will ruin the English colony, and without force get rid of a neighbour much more dangerous than she imagines; she will then regain an important branch of trade, which for a long time hath been so considerably reduced, that Campeachy receives from the mother-country no more than a single vessel every three or four years.

years. The wood, which cannot be brought away by this ship, is carried off by small vessels to Vera-Cruz, which is the true point of union between Mexico and Spain.

OLD Vera-Cruz served at first for a mart. This town, founded by Cortez on the very spot where he first landed, is situated on a river, which is dry one part of the year, but which in the rainy season is capable of receiving the largest vessels. The danger to which the seamen were exposed, in a situation where nothing defended them against the violence of the winds so common in these latitudes, induced them to seek for more secure shelter; which they found eighteen miles lower down on the same coast. There they built New Vera-Cruz, at seventy-two leagues distance from the capital of Mexico.

NEW Vera-Cruz is situated in a climate rendered disagreeable by a burning sun, and by excessive heats, and unwholesome by continual rains. It is bounded on the north by dry sands, and on the west by infectious morasses. Its streets are straight, but the houses are built of wood. No nobility are to be met with here, and the merchants always prefer living at Angelos. The small number of Spaniards, who are fixed either by avarice or by indigence in so wretched and dangerous a place, live in a state of privacy and with a degree of parsimony that are unknown in all other commercial places.

THE fortifications of the town consist of a wall, eight towers erected at different distances, and two bastions which command the shore. These works,
weak

- weak in themselves and ill-constructed, are in an extremely ruinous state ; so that for the defence of the place they depend only on the fortrefs of St. Juan de Ulloa, that is built on a rock fronting the town, and at the distance of a mile from it.

THIS harbour has the disadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five vessels, which are not always sheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two channels only, which are so narrow as to admit but one ship. The sea in the neighbourhood is likewise extremely dangerous on account of several small islands, which the Spaniards called Cayos, and a great number of rocks almost even with the surface of the water, and scarcely to be perceived. It was imagined that nothing but a complete knowledge of the situation, acquired by many years experience, could have surmounted these obstacles ; but, notwithstanding this, they were overcome by certain desperate pirates, who surprised the place in 1712 ; towers were then constructed on the shore, where vigilant sentinels are continually on guard for the common safety.

It is into this harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the gulph, that the fleet arrives, whose destination is to furnish Mexico with European merchandise. It is fitted out at Cadiz every two, three, or four years, as occasions and circumstances require. It ordinarily consists of fifteen or twenty merchant ships ; and is escorted by two men of war, or a greater number, if requisite.

WINES, brandies, and oils, constitute the most bulky part of the cargo. Gold and silver stuffs, gold and silver lace, cloths, linen, silks, laces, hats, jewels, diamonds, and spices, compose the richest part.

THE fleet sets out from Europe in the month of July, but at the latest in the beginning of August, in order to avoid the dangers to which it would be exposed from the violence of the north wind in the open sea, especially at the landing places, if it should set sail in any other season. In its passage it takes in refreshments at Porto Rico, and repairs to Vera Cruz, from whence its cargo is conveyed to Xalapa. In this town, which is situated twelve leagues from the harbour on the back of a mountain, and well built, is held a fair, which is limited by the laws to six weeks, but which sometimes is prolonged at the solicitation of the merchants of the country or those of Spain. The proportion which the value of gold and silver bears to that of the merchandize is the circumstance that determines the gain or loss of exchanges. If one of these articles is in greater plenty than the other, great prejudice results to the seller or buyer. Formerly the royal treasure was sent from the capital to Vera Cruz, to wait the arrival of the fleet there; but, since this key of the new world was pillaged by pirates in 1683, it waits the arrival of the ships, and stops at Angelos, which is only thirty-five leagues distant.

WHEN the transactions are finished, the gold, silver, cochineal, leather, vanilla, logwood, and some goods of inconsiderable value which Mexico furnishes,

furnishes, are put on board. The fleet then directs its course for the Havanna, where, after being joined by some register-ships dispatched to different ports, it arrives at Cadiz by the channel of Bahama.

IN the interval between the sailing of one fleet and the other, the court of Spain sends out two men of war, which they call Azogues, to carry to Vera-Cruz the quicksilver that is necessary for working the mines of Mexico. The quicksilver was originally drawn from Peru; but the commissions were so uncertain, so slow, and so frequently fraudulent, that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to send it from Europe. The mines of Guadalcanal at first furnished the means. These were afterwards forsaken for the richer mines of Almeda in Estramadura. The Azogues, to which two or three merchant-ships are sometimes joined that can only carry some fruits of Spain, are laden in return with the produce of those goods that have been sold since the departure of the fleet, or of those which had been delivered on credit.

IF any thing should be left behind, it is commonly brought by the ships of war which Spain builds at the Havanna, and which always pass to Vera-Cruz before they set sail for Europe. Affairs are conducted in a different manner at Peru, as will be shewn in the subsequent book.

B O O K VII.

Conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire since that revolution.

B O O K
VII.

Expeditions that preceded the discovery of Peru.

COLUMBUS had no sooner gained a firm establishment on the island of San Domingo than he prosecuted his researches. In one of his voyages he discovered the Orinoko, and in the other the bay of Honduras. He clearly saw that what he had found was a continent; and his genius led him further than merely to suspect that beyond this continent was another ocean, which must terminate at the East-Indies. It was possible that these two seas might have a mutual communication, and he diligently employed himself in finding it out. In order to make this discovery, he sailed as close along the coast as possible. He touched at all places that were accessible; and, contrary to the custom of the navigators of his time, who behaved in the countries where they arrived in such a manner as if they were never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with equity, attention, and humanity, and by this method succeeded in gaining their affection. The isthmus of Darien particularly engaged his observation. He thought that the rivers, which poured into it, were an arm of the great ocean, which uniting by a narrow strait, the seas of South

South and North America seemed to open to his wishes the passage and communication he was in search of. After he had explored these rivers with extreme attention, and found himself disappointed in his expectations, he contented himself with founding a settlement. The pride, mercenary disposition, and imprudence of his companions, excited the indignation of the natives of the country, who at first appeared tolerably well disposed to permit this establishment. The Spaniards were obliged to reembark and sail away in vessels which were not in a condition to keep the sea any longer.

THE intelligence, however, which was obtained, was not entirely lost. Vesputius, Ojeda, Lacosa, Pinçon, Roldan, Nino, Lopez, Bastidos, Solis, and Nicuesa, followed the path which Columbus had traced out for them. These adventurers, who had only received from their government a permission to make discoveries, in order to satisfy the vain glory of the nation, rather than to extend its dominions, thought neither of forming settlements which might be cultivated, nor of establishing commercial connections with the small nations which they discovered. The prospect of fortunes, which might have been made in future by these prudent measures, was an idea too much above the prejudices of these barbarous times. Even the reasoning, which might have led them to the knowledge of these advantages, would not have imparted a sufficient impulse to animate them. Nothing but the allurements of immediate gain could excite men to enterprises so hazardous as were

those for which this age was distinguished. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diseases, and death, which they were exposed to in the course of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return; and, by a terrible but just vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans and their lust of gold exhausted at once the two hemispheres of their inhabitants, and destruction raged equally among those who were the plunderers and assassins, as among the plundered people.

Among the number of villains who ravaged, depopulated, and destroyed, these unhappy coasts of a world which was no sooner discovered than it was exterminated, there was one man who had naturally an agreeable aspect, a robust constitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence, and who had imbibed some principles from a liberal education. His name was Vasco Nugnes de Balboa. Finding at Darien, where there was a greater abundance of riches than in any other places, a small number of Spaniards whom this circumstance alone had attracted there, he put himself at their head, with the design of forming a permanent settlement. He found at first in the country some of that same species of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa and in certain of the Asiatic islands. They are covered with a down of a glistening white colour. They have no hair, their eyes are red, and they only see well in the night time. They are feeble, and their faculties appear to be more circumscribed than those of other men. These savages were few in number;

number; but others of a different species were found on the coast. These were brave and hardy enough to defend their liberty. They had a very extraordinary custom among them, which was, that the husbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their husbands, used to cut off the end of a finger; so that by looking on their hands one might see whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been so.

Nothing has ever been or will probably ever be said, that can satisfactorily explain the various perversions of human reason. If the women alone had been obliged to cut off a finger at the decease of their husbands, it would be natural to suspect that this had been intended to prevent a widow from imposing upon a second husband, who might imagine her to be a virgin, from having no knowledge of her former connection; a thing very likely to happen among wandering nations. But this conjecture would lose its force, when applied to the husbands, whose condition could never be a matter of such consequence, as that it should be carefully indicated by indelible signs. This custom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

When a widow died, such of her children, whose tender age rendered it impossible for them to provide for their own subsistence, were buried in the same grave with her. As no one would take the charge of these orphans, they were massacred, to prevent their being starved to death. The charity of these barbarians extended no further. This is the most atrocious act to which the de-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

plorable state of savage life was ever able to impel mankind.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ferocity of these barbarians, Balboa succeeded in dispersing the inhabitants of Darien, in subjecting them or gaining their confidence; and he settled his countrymen on their territory.

ONE day, as he was dividing some gold with one of his companions, a contest arose between them. A savage, incensed at a rapaciousness so repugnant to his manners, shook the scales so violently, that he overset all the gold that was in them. *Since you quarrel for such a trifle, said he to the two Spaniards, and it is this metal which has made you quit your country, and disturb so many nations, I will lead you to a place, where you shall be satisfied.* He fulfilled his engagement, and conducted Balboa, with one hundred and fifty Spaniards, across a neck of land, sixteen or seventeen leagues long, to the coast of the South Sea.

PANAMA, which was built there in 1518, opened a new and extensive career to the restlessness and avarice of the Castilians. The ocean, which washed its walls, conveyed them to Peru, whose riches were boasted of in this part of the new world, though but in a vague manner. The reports that prevailed concerning the strength of this immense empire, did not cast a damp upon that ardour which its treasures excited; and the world saw, without astonishment, three men, born in obscurity, undertake at their own expence to subvert a throne that had subsisted with glory for several centuries.

FRANCIS

FRANCIS PÍZARRO, who is the most known among them, was the natural son of a gentleman of Estramadura. His education had been so neglected, that he could not read. Tending of flocks, which was his first employment, not suiting his character, he embarked for the new world. His avarice and ambition inspired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and signalized himself in most of them; and he acquired, in the several situations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indispensably necessary to advancement, but in particular to those who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The use he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, persuaded him that nothing was above his talents; and he formed the plan of exerting them against Peru.

To these designs he associated Diego de Almagro, whose birth was equivocal, but whose courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable, in those camps in which he had grown old. In this school he had acquired a frankness which is more frequently learnt here than in other situations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

THE fortune of two soldiers, though considerable, being found insufficient for the conquest they meditated, they joined themselves to Fernando de Luques. He was a mercenary priest, who had amassed prodigious wealth by all the methods which superstition renders easy to his profession,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

and by some means peculiar to the manners of the age he lived in.

As the basis of their association the confederates mutually agreed, that each should engage the whole of his property in this enterprise; that the wealth accruing from it should be equally shared, and that they should reciprocally observe an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great scene were distributed as the good of the common cause required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the succours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociousness, was completed by fanaticism. Luques publicly consecrated a host; part of which he ate, and divided the rest between his two associates; all three swearing, by the blood of their God, that, to enrich themselves, they would not spare the blood of man.

THE expedition, commenced under these horrible auspices, was not fortunate; the measures being continually interrupted by famine, sickness, and misunderstanding, by a profound ignorance of the theory of the winds and currents, and by the arms of the Indians; the adventurers found themselves reduced to the necessity of returning without having effected any establishment, or done any thing worthy of being transmitted to posterity. At the end of 1526, Panama received the wrecks of an armament, which two years before had excited its jealousy.

FAR from being discouraged by these misfortunes, the three associates were inflamed with a
more

more ardent passion for treasures which were now better known to them. They imagined that they should not fail of acquiring them, if they could disengage themselves from a dependence on the governor of Panama, who had opposed them, sometimes openly, at other times clandestinely. The court of Spain granted them what they solicited, and their courage was now animated to greater exploits. In 1530 they fitted out three vessels, on board of which they embarked one hundred fourscore and five soldiers, thirty-seven horses, arms, and provisions. These forces, which were successively augmented by some inconsiderable reinforcements, were commanded by Pizarro; who, after a series of extreme difficulties which his intrepid avarice surmounted, at last arrived at Tumbez, on the frontiers of Peru.

If the Spaniards may be credited, Peru had been an extensive and civilized empire for four centuries. It had been founded by Manco-Capac, and by his wife Mama-Ocello-Huaco. It has been conjectured, that these two persons might be the descendants of certain navigators of Europe or the Canaries, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Brasil.

State of
Peru when
it was dis-
covered.

To support this conjecture, it has been said, that the Peruvians divided the year, as we do, into three hundred and sixty-five days; and that they had some notion of astronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon where the sun sets in the summer and winter solstice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards destroyed, as being monuments of Indian superstition.

It

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

It has been asserted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than that of the natives of the country, and that several of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact, that there are certain features, whether ill-formed or regular, that are preserved in some families, though they do not constantly pass from generation to generation. And, lastly, it has been said, that it was a tradition generally diffused throughout Peru, and handed down from age to age, that there would one day arrive by sea men with beards, and of such superiority in arms, that nothing could resist them.

If there should be any of our readers disposed to adopt this opinion, they must necessarily allow that there must have elapsed a considerable space of time between the shipwreck and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. If this is not admitted, we cannot explain why the legislator should not have given the savages, whom he collected together, some notion of writing, though he should not himself have been able to read; or why he should not have taught them several of our arts and methods of doing things, and instructed them in certain tenets of his religion. Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we must necessarily believe that the vessel of his ancestors was wrecked on the coasts of America at an æra so remote, that the succeeding generations must have forgotten all the customs of the place from whence they sprang.

It was on an hilly country that Manco at first established his empire. Perhaps, he found there people less barbarous, better disposed to receive instruction,

instruction, and who had already begun to be civilized. It is far from being improbable that society is formed much more slowly in countries that are fruitful, and abounding in vegetables, than in those to which nature has been less bountiful. It is the want men have of assistance from each other, that more strongly induces them to unite in society; and this reciprocal dependence is more sensibly felt on barren mountains than in fruitful plains.

THE two Legislators declared themselves the children of the sun. Undoubtedly they thought that this prejudice would animate the Peruvians, rouse their courage, inspire them with a greater attachment to their country, and make them more obedient to the laws. Was this fiction more absurd than those which have been so warmly embraced by some celebrated nations, which still are our guides and our models?

By the help of this illusion the empire of the Incas had flourished under eleven sovereigns, who were all prudent, humane, and just, when the emperor Huana Capac seized upon Quito. In order to secure the possession of it, he married the only heiress of the dethroned king, from whom he had a son named Atabalipa. This young prince, after the death of his father, demanded the inheritance of his mother. His elder brother Huascar refusing to give it up to him, immediate recourse was had to arms. The most ambitious of the two brothers was beaten, taken prisoner, and shut up in Cusco, where he was afterwards strangled. His fortunate
rival,

rival, now elevated above his warmest expectations, found himself master of all the provinces.

THESE troubles, which for the first time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeased when the Spaniards landed in the empire. The inhabitants who were desirous of appeasing the sun, which they believed was incensed against them, loaded these strangers with presents, shewed them the kindest offices, and manifested a respect for them which bordered on adoration. In the confusion in which the whole kingdom was still involved, no one thought of opposing Pizarro's march, who reached without the least obstruction to the palace of Caxamalca. He was but just arrived, when he received from Atabalipa, who was not far distant, a present of fruits, corn, emeralds, and several vases of gold and silver. The reception, which the court gave to his brother Fernando, corresponded with these advances. Civilities, treasures, and marks of distinction, were bestowed upon him with the greatest profusion. The emperor did not dissemble his desire that the Spaniards would quit his provinces; and he publicly declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief proper measures for this retreat.

To put himself in readiness for an engagement, without suffering the least preparation of war to be perceived, was the only disposition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be seen: the infantry was in the court; and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

ATABALIPA

ATABALIPA came without suspicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thousand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and said to them : *These strangers are the messengers of the Gods ; be careful of offending them.*

THE procession was now pretty near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverde, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He stopped him in his march, and, by his interpreter, made him a long speech, in which he expounded to him the christian religion, pressed him to embrace that form of worship, and proposed to him to submit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru.

THE emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vassal ; the pope must surely be a very extraordinary man, to give so liberally what does not belong to him. I shall not change my religion for another ; and if the christians adore a God who died upon a cross, I worship the sun, who never dies.* He then asked Vincent where he had learned all that he had said of God and the creation. *In this Book*, replied the monk, presenting at the same time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all sides, fell a laughing, and, throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards,

Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance. Christians, do you not see how he despises the gospel? Kill these dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

THE Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty restrained that fury, and that thirst of blood, which the sight of the gold and of the infidels had inspired them with, instantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impression that must have been made on the Peruvians by the sight of the horses who trampled upon them, and by the noise and effect of the cannon and musketry which beat them down. They fled with such precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful massacre was made of them. Pizarro himself advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the sword all that surrounded his throne, took the monarch prisoner, and pursued all the rest of the day those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the ministers, the flower of the nobility, all that composed the court of Atabalipa, were massacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to see their emperor and the Spaniards, were not spared. Whilst this carnage continued, Vincent ceased not to animate the assassins who were tired with slaughter, exhorting them to use not the edge but the point of their swords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous massacre, they passed the night in drunkenness, dancing, and all the excesses of debauchery.

IN the mean time Pizarro's thoughts were engaged in contriving how he should get rid of his prisoner. Vincent said that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. There was in the train of the Spanish general an Indian, who had embraced the christian faith. His name was Philipillo, and he was employed as interpreter. He was fixed upon to frame an accusation against the emperor, for having designed to excite his subjects to rebel against the tyrants. On this sole deposition, Atabalipa was condemned to death. The Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial; and this atrocious farce was followed with those horrid consequences that must necessarily be expected from it.

AFTER this judiciary assassination, Pizarro penetrated into the inland parts of the empire. Cusco opened to him its gates, and offered him more treasures than there were perhaps in all Europe before the discovery of the new world. These treasures became the spoil of two hundred Spaniards, who, though in possession of such immense riches, still desired more; impelled by that thirst of gold which increases in proportion as it is gratified. Temples and private houses were stripped from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Peruvians were oppressed in all parts, and rapes committed every where on their wives and daughters.

THE people driven to desperation took up arms, and laid siege at once to Cusco and Lima: but these unfortunate men in several engagements were not able to destroy more than six hundred of their enemies; who, continually receiving fresh supplies,
were

were at last universally victorious. In a little time the Spaniards in Peru amounted to the number of three thousand musketeers, without reckoning pikemen, archers, and cavalry. The Peruvians were under a necessity of submitting to the yoke, such as the tyrants chose to impose on them.

A REVOLUTION so remarkable hath been a subject of astonishment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of access, where one must continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow passes and defiles. Troops are there obliged to be incessantly passing and repassing torrents and rivers, the banks of which are always steep. Four or five thousand men, with a moderate share of courage and skill, might destroy the most numerous and best disciplined armies. How then could it possibly happen, that a whole nation did not even attempt to dispute a territory, the nature of which was so well known to them, against a few plunderers who had not the least idea of it?

THIS extraordinary event cannot be otherwise accounted for, than by considering that the Peruvians were seized with sudden fear, which was the effect of their ignorance and astonishment; that their disorderly multitude could not stand against a small number of disciplined forces, and that courage unarmed could not resist cannon-shot. Thus, without having recourse to that vain prophecy which proclaimed the Spaniards as the avengers of the Gods, Peru must necessarily have been subdued, even though the domestic dissensions with which it was then agitated had not facilitated its subjection.

THE empire which now received the Spanish yoke had been governed for four centuries, or perhaps more, by a race of conquerors, who appeared to have extended their conquests with no other view than to promote the happiness of the human species. They descended from a legislator, who could not, perhaps, have been paralleled in history, if Confucius had not had one advantage over him, that of not having introduced superstition, to insure allegiance and obedience to his laws.

MANCO Capac, who collected together the savages of Peru that were scattered among the forests, styled himself the offspring of the sun, who was sent by his father to teach men to be good and happy. He persuaded a great number of savages to follow him ; and he founded the city of Cusco.

HE taught his new subjects to cultivate the ground, to sow corn and pulse, to wear cloaths, and to build houses. His wife taught the Indian women to spin, to smooth cotton and wool ; and instructed them in all the occupations suitable to their sex, and in all the arts of domestic œconomy.

HE told them they must adore the sun ; he built temples to this luminary, and abolished human sacrifices, and even those of animals. His descendents were the only priests of his nation.

To a religion replete with sentiments of humanity were joined parental laws. A most wise institution enjoined that a young man, who should commit a fault, should be slightly punished ; but that his father should be responsible for him. Thus it

was that sound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

POLYGAMY was prohibited; and adultery in both sexes punished. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that because the race of the sun could not be too much multiplied. These concubines were selected from among the virgins consecrated to the temple.

IDLENESS was punished as the source of wickedness, and therefore as the greatest of crimes. Those, who from age and infirmities were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge; but on condition that they should preserve the cultivated lands from the birds. Every one was obliged to make his own shoes, manage his own house, and construct his plough. Women made the apparel; and every separate family knew how to supply its own wants.

THE Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumstance induced them to it. Those common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable songs; the object itself of these labours, which was to assist every one who had occasion for succour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worship of the sun, and distributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which must necessarily reign in the decuries, where every one was mutually inspired with respect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, because the punishments, that were inflicted for the faults of one individual, fell on the whole body; that custom of regarding each other as members of one single family,

family, which was the empire; all these circumstances united, maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit; and contributed as much as possible to substitute the most sublime and amiable virtues, in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by other legislators.

THESE virtues were rewarded with marks of distinction, as much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, cloaths wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were the statues of men, who, by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

THESE great men were also usually the subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

THERE was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and persons of distinction, and represented to them models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic œconomy.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

THE whole state was distributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to superintend ten families that were intrusted to him. A superior officer had the same inspection over fifty families ; others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand.

THE decurians, and the other superintending officers up to the superintendant of a thousand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to solicit punishments and rewards for each, and to give information if there was any want of provisions, cloaths, or corn, for the year. The superintendant of a thousand made his report to the minister of the Inca.

THE laws were severe, but this severity was attended only with good effects. The Peruvians were strangers to crimes. All their laws were reputed to come to them from the sun, which threw light upon their actions. Thus the violation of a law became a sacrilege. They even went of their own accord to reveal their most secret faults, and to solicit permission to expiate them. They told the Spaniards, that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas who had deserved punishment.

THE lands of the kingdom, that were susceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts, one appropriated to the sun, another to the Inca, and the third to the people. The first were cultivated in common, as were likewise the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the soldiers who were with the army. These were cultivated immediately after the lands

appro-

appropriated to the sun, and before those of the emperor. The season of this labour was announced by festivals: it was begun and continued with the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns.

THE emperor levied no tribute; and exacted nothing from his subjects, but that they should cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being deposited in public magazines, was sufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

THE lands dedicated to the sun provided for the maintenance of the priests, and for the expence of consecrating those magnificent temples that were covered with gold, and whose roofs were of silver.

WITH regard to the lands that were in the possession of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even estates for life: the division of them was continually varying, and was regulated with strict equity according to the number of persons which composed every family. There was no other wealth, but what arose from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the state.

THIS custom of moveable possessions has been universally censured by men of understanding. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never rise to any degree of power or greatness, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the first of these, we should see on the globe only wandering and naked savages, miserably subsisting on such fruits and vegetables as are the sole and scanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the second, every indi-

vidual would live only for himself; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, that paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpressible delight we feel in acting for the good of posterity, urge us to pursue. The system of some bold speculators, who have regarded property, and particularly that species of it which is hereditary, as an usurpation of some members of society over others, is refuted by the fate of all those institutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. These states have all fallen to ruin, after having languished for some time in a state of depopulation and anarchy. Peru alone hath prospered on so uncertain a basis.

THE reason probably is, that the Incas, not knowing the use of imposts, and having only commodities in kind to supply the necessities of government, must have been obliged to study how to multiply them. They were assisted in the execution of this project by their ministers, by inferior officers, and by the soldiers themselves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their subsistence and the support of their rank. Hence arose a continual solicitude to increase these productions. This attention might have for its principal object the introduction of plenty into the lands of the sovereign; but his patrimony was so mixed and confounded with that of his subjects, that it was not possible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people, encouraged by these advantages, which left little scope to their industry, applied themselves to labours, which the nature of their soil, of their climate,
and

and of their consumptions, rendered very easy. But notwithstanding all these advantages; notwithstanding the ever-active vigilance of the magistrate; notwithstanding the certainty, that their harvests would never be ravaged by a restless neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere necessities of life. We may venture to assert, that they would have acquired the means of diversifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable, and hereditary property.

THE Peruvians, though at the very source of gold and silver, knew not the use of coin. They had neither commerce nor luxury; and the more minute arts, which owe their existence to the immediate wants of social life, were in a very imperfect state among them. They had not even hieroglyphics, which among all nations were the first essays towards writing; and their *quippos*, which supplied the place of writing among them, were not so useful as the hieroglyphics of the Mexicans, nor even as those of the Iroquois.

BUT the Peruvians having neither property, nor trade, nor scarcely any connection of mutual interest; moreover, being governed by masters, whose will framed all those transitory laws which regulated their manners, had very little occasion for writing. All their sciences consisted in memory, and all their arts in example. They learned their religion and their history by hymns, and their duties and professions by labour and imitation.

THEIR legislation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, since it supposed the prince always just and infallible, and the magistrates possessed of as much integrity as the prince. Among a civilized people who had not the art of writing, the laws must have been fatal, when their customs did not determine the application and use of them; when not only the monarch, but his deputies, a superintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thousand, might change at pleasure the destination of punishments and rewards. Among such a people, the wisest laws, being destitute of all precision and stability, must insensibly be corrupted; nor would there be a possibility of restoring them to their primitive character.

THE counterpoise to these dangers was found in their absolute ignorance of gold and silver coin; an ignorance, which in a Peruvian despot rendered the fatal passion of amassing riches impossible. It was found in the constitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the sovereign's revenue, by settling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely small number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which, being easily gratified, rendered them happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the observation of the laws a matter of conscience. Thus was the despotism of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the sovereign and the people; a confidence, which resulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the constant protection he granted to all his subjects,

subjects, and from the evident interest they had to continue in obedience to him.

A SPIRIT of pyrrhonism, which hath succeeded to a blind credulity, and hath been sometimes carried to unjustifiable lengths, hath for some time endeavoured to raise objections to what has been just related of the laws, manners, and happiness, of antient Peru. This account hath appeared to some philosophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the destroyers of this distinguished part of the new world, was there a single ruffian sufficiently enlightened to invent a fable so consistent in all its parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wish to do it, if he had even been equal to the task? Would he not rather have been restrained by the fear of increasing that hatred, which so many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witnesses, who would have seen the contrary of what was published with so much pomp? The unanimous testimony of contemporary writers, and of their immediate successors, ought to be regarded as the strongest historical demonstration that can possibly be desired.

It is not the same with regard to those exaggerated relations, which the conquerors of Peru published concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The desire of adding great lustre to the glory of their triumphs might possibly mislead

lead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themselves, they studied to impose on their own country and on foreign nations. The first testimonies, and those even were contradictory, have been invalidated by succeeding accounts, and at last totally destroyed, when men of enlightened understandings had visited this celebrated part of the new hemisphere.

WE must, therefore, consider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with so much labour and expence. If there were so many superb cities in Peru, why do none exist, except Cusco and Quito, besides those the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we do not find even the ruins of any of those of which such pompous descriptions have been published?

WE must consider as fabulous the account of those majestic palaces, destined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their residence and in their travels. The royal mansions so much boasted of were nothing but flints placed one upon another, and covered with a reddish clay.

WE must consider as fabulous the relation of those fortified places, which defended the frontiers of the empire. Would it have been conquered in so short a time, if it had been furnished with such considerable means of defence? M. de la Condamine, who visited with that scrupulous attention that distinguishes him the fort of Cannar, which is the best preserved, and the most considerable after that of Cusco, found it to be of very small extent, and only ten feet high. A people, who knew not the use of pulleys, could

hardly raise their buildings higher. The size of the stones, that were employed in building these fortresses, has not been less exaggerated. After the most careful examination, there was not found any one of a remarkable size. When these stones were to be transported, cords were fastened to them, and a number of men pushed, drew, and rolled the weight along. A nation, which had made no greater progress in mechanics, could not execute any great designs.

WE must consider as fabulous the history of those reservoirs and aqueducts, that are said to have been worthy of the antient Romans. Neither of them were ever to be found in Peru, unless we choose to honour with these magnificent names certain trenches that were made, wherever there was an opportunity, on the declivity of hills, to collect rain or spring-water, and conduct it into the fields and vallies,

WE must also consider as fabulous the display of those superb roads which rendered communication so easy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of stakes disposed in a line, and intended for no other purpose but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any consequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traversed the whole empire. This, which was the most beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely destroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

WE must also consider as fabulous what has been said of those bridges which are so much boasted of. How could the Peruvians, who were ignorant
of

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of the method of constructing arches, raise stone-bridges? But, had they even been acquainted with this art, would not their want of lime have rendered it almost impracticable? It is certain, however, that the traveller was every moment stopped in his passage by a great number of torrents he met with among the mountains. To enable him to pass these, a long cord of osier, on which slid a basket that held at most four men, was extended from one bank to the other. The number of cords was afterwards multiplied, and hurdles were fixed upon them, by which a greater number of people crossed at the same time. The Spaniards, who seem born to destroy, and not to build, have not failed to adopt so marvellous an invention.

WE must also consider as fabulous what hath been written on the signification of *quippos*. These were, say the Spaniards, registers made of cords, in which, by means of different knots and different colours, the Peruvians expressed every thing they wished. The remembrance of any essential points of history, manners, and ceremonies, was perpetuated by knots; and small strings, tied to the principal cords, recalled to their minds circumstances of less importance. These memoirs were deposited in the custody of officers appointed by public authority, and an entire confidence was placed in their integrity. In reality, these singular annals exhibited no regular narrative, and could only serve for certain calculations, or for preserving the memory of some particular event.

THE Spaniards do not deserve more credit, when they tell us of those baths that were made of silver and gold, as well as the pipes that supplied them ; of those gardens full of trees, whose flowers were of silver, and the fruit gold, and where the eye, being deceived, mistook art for nature ; of those fields of maize, the stems of which were of silver, and the ears of gold ; of those basso-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were so admirably exhibited, that whoever saw was tempted to gather them ; of those dresses covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the seed of pearl, and the workmanship of which the ablest artists of Europe could not have equalled. We shall not say, that these works were not worthy to be preserved, because they never have been. If the Greek statuaries in their compositions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece would have reached us. But, if we may judge of what hath perished by what still remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progress in the art of designing. The vases, which have escaped the ravages of time, will serve as a signal proof of the industry of the Indians to supply their want of iron tools ; but they will never be considered as monuments of their genius. Several figures of animals, and of insects, in massive gold, which were long preserved in the treasury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them ; for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furnish succours for Carthagena, that was then besieged by the English ; and there was not found in all Peru a Spaniard

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Spaniard curious enough to purchase a single piece at the bare weight.

FROM what has been said, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made scarce any advances in the abstract sciences; they even wanted words to express moral or metaphysical ideas. Most of the sciences depend on the progress of the arts, and these on accidents which do not occur naturally, but in a course of several centuries, and of which the greatest part never happen among people who have no intercourse with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all these accounts to the simple truth, we shall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fusing gold and silver; that they even possessed the secret, which is lost in Europe, of giving copper a temper like to that we give to steel; but that, though they were acquainted with iron, they had never arrived at the knowledge of forging that metal, which is the very foundation of all arts. They never conceived the idea of baking bricks or tiles, the materials of which they had always at hand. They executed however things less commodious and more difficult. The view of torrents, which they saw hollowing out beds for themselves in rocks, probably gave them the idea of cutting stones. With hatchets of flint, and incessant friction, they contrived to square them, to make them answer to each other, to give them the same height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately these instruments had not the same effect on wood, as they had upon stone. Thus it happened that the same men who shaped the granite, and who drilled the
the

the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortises, tenons, and pins; it was fastened to the walls only by rushes. The most remarkable buildings had only a covering of straw, supported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had only one floor, had no light but by the entrance, and it consisted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

BUT whatever were the arts which the Spaniards found in the country of the Incas, they could not prevent the empire from submitting to its conquerors. A moment of resistance longer, and perhaps the Peruvians had been free. The conquerors had differences to settle among themselves, which did not admit of a division of their forces.

THE first intelligence of Pizarro's success had no sooner been carried to Panama, but Almagro, his principal associate, set out with the utmost expedition with new adventurers, to share the treasures, lands, and government of Peru. There was in this claim an appearance of equity, which the author of the discovery was not disposed to admit. From that time jealousy and hatred prevailed among them. There were two chiefs, two parties, and two armies; and soon after, by means of a forced accommodation, two governments.

Civil wars
of the Spaniards
after their
conquest
of Peru.

FROM the collision of these factions necessarily resulted disturbances of a new kind. Civil wars commonly originate from tyranny and anarchy. A power without limits, and a liberty without restraint, must produce the same consequences.

The

The magistrate looks upon the people only as so many rebels to his authority ; and the people in their turns only regard him as an usurper. Reason is not sufficiently powerful to regulate claims so repugnant to each other. The decision of rights is referred to the sword ; and he who is victorious is found to have the best cause.

THOUGH the interests which divided the Spaniards in Peru were not of such importance, yet they were attended with the same if not greater excesses. Almagro and his adherents had passed the sea for no other purpose than to enrich themselves with the gold of the country. They had acquired less than their opponents, and therefore wanted to wrest it from them by the sword. Whether Pizarro thought his presence necessary elsewhere, or whether, as he himself said, he felt a reluctance to fight against his old friend, he committed to his brother Fernando the charge of conquering him ; and his hopes were not disappointed. Almagro was beaten, and made prisoner, on the banks of the Apurimac, on the 6th of April 1538. The conqueror, who had private revenge to gratify, judged that the author of these disturbances ought not to live. This great sacrifice he offered up, for the sake, as he said, of the public tranquillity.

THE partisans of Almagro, being dispersed by the death of their chief, conducted themselves with great prudence and circumspection. The absence of Fernando, who was gone to Europe, either to solicit a reward, or to justify his severity, according to the dispositions he should find predominant

dominant at the court of Madrid, appeared to have extinguished in their bosom all resentment. They seemed to study nothing but how to obtain the good-will of the person who had it in his power to dispense favours to all. By means of the confidence which they had the happiness to inspire, they lived without molestation, insensibly drew nearer to each other, and found a chief to head their united forces in the son of a man whose loss they had never ceased to deplore. The death of Francis Pizarro was solemnly and unanimously decreed among them.

On the day fixed, which was in the month of June 1541, the conspirators at mid-day crossed the streets of Lima. They had preferred the light of day to the obscurity of the night, in order by that means to prepossess the multitude in favour of the justice of their projects, or the justice of their measures, and to prevent even an idea of an attempt to frustrate them. Their stratagem succeeded: no one gave the alarm; and the conqueror of so many vast kingdoms was quietly massacred in the center of a town that he had founded, and whose inhabitants were composed of his creatures, his servants, his relations, his friends, or his soldiers. Those whom they judged most likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: their fury spread itself, and every one who dared to shew himself in the streets and in the squares was regarded as an enemy, and put to the sword. Instantly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter, and presented nothing but mangled carcases. The spirit

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of avarice, which induced them to consider the rich merely as partisans of the old government, was still more furious than that of hatred, and became more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The representation of a place carried by assault by a barbarous nation would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had disappointed them.

THIS cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The antient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to undertakings which filled them with horror. Those among them who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private, or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital: and he marched into the heart of the empire, to complete the reduction of every place that opposed, or hesitated to acknowledge him.

A MULTITUDE of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder : every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had lost his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the snares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himself at the head of the opposite party. He lost, in attempting to unravel his plots, that time that he ought to have employed in fighting. In these circumstances, an event, which no one could have foreseen, happened to change the face of affairs.

THE licentiate Vaca di Castro, who had been sent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to assume the government in case Pizarro was no more, all who had not sold themselves to the tyrant hastened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealousy, which had for too long a time kept them dispersed, were no longer an obstacle to their re-union. Castro, who was as resolute as if he had grown old in the service, did not suffer their impatience to languish, but instantly led them against the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpressible obstinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the close of the day decided in favour of that party whose cause was the most just. Those among the rebels who were most guilty, dreading to languish under disgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

murder them, crying out, like men in despair, *It was I who killed Pizarro*. Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

WHILE these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards in Europe were employed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been made subject to the audience of Panama, which was too remote to superintend the maintenance of good order, and had too little influence to make its decrees respected. A supreme tribunal was then established at Lima for the dispensation of justice, which was to be invested with authority sufficient to enforce and to reward a due obedience to the laws. Blasco Núñez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder.

WE must judge of those revolutions which are produced by civil wars by the causes from which they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny and the natural love of liberty stimulate a brave people to take up arms, if the goodness of their cause is crowned with success, the tranquillity that follows this transitory calamity is an æra of the greatest happiness. The vigour, which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. The small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles, possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Justice and power are united: and every man is astonished to find that he

he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him. But when civil wars proceed from a corrupt source; when slaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend in order to oppress, and robbers quarrel for the sake of spoil; the peace which terminates these horrors is scarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals assume the place of those judges who disgraced them, and become the oracles of those laws which they have insulted. Men ruined by their extravagancies and debaucheries insult, with an overbearing pomp, those virtuous citizens whose patrimony they have invaded. In this state of utter confusion, the passions only are attended to. Avarice seeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its resentments without fear, licentiousness to throw off every restraint, and discontent to occasion a total subversion of affairs. The phrenzy of carnage is succeeded by that of debauchery. The sacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery, and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude rejoices in destroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus in a few hours perish the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an entire lassitude, or some lucky accidents, suspend these calamities, the habit of wickedness, murder, and contempt of laws, which necessarily subsists after so much confusion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious soldiers without pay, and the people fond of novelty in

hopes of changing their state for a better; this situation of things, and these means of confusion, are always in readiness for the first factious person who knows how to avail himself of them.

SUCH was the disposition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunez appeared among them. It was necessary that a change should take place, that their ferocity should be softened, that the men who had always lived in independence should be curbed, that insatiable avarice should be checked, that injustice itself should be brought back to principles of equity, that those who had attended to nothing but their own private interests should be brought to concur to the public good, that adventurers who had even forgotten the name of their country should be converted into citizens, that property should be established where before the law of force had only been obeyed, that order should arise from the midst of confusion; in a word, that monsters should be transformed into men.

So great a work would have required a profound genius, a conciliatory temper, an inflexible patience, extensive views, a pliant character, and many other qualities which are seldom united. Nunez had none of these advantages. Nature had only given him probity, firmness, and ardour; and he had taken no pains to improve these gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his commission, without regard to places, persons, or circumstances.

CONTRARY

CONTRARY to the opinion of all intelligent persons, who wished that he should wait for fresh instructions from Europe, he published ordinances, which declared that the lands the conquerors had seized should not pass to their descendants, and which dispossessed those who had taken part in the civil commotions. All the Peruvians who had been enslaved by monks, bishops, and persons belonging to the government, were declared free. Those who belonged to other masters were to be freed from their shackles at the death of their oppressors. They could no longer be compelled to bury themselves in the mines, nor could any kind of labour be exacted from them without payment. Their tribute was fixed. The Spaniards who travelled on foot were deprived of the right of taking three Indians to carry their baggage; and those who travelled on horseback, of the right of taking five. The caciques were discharged from the obligation of furnishing the traveller and his retinue with provisions gratis. Other tyrannical establishments also would soon have been proscribed; and the conquered people were on the eve of being sheltered under the protection of laws, which would at least have tempered the rigours of the right of conquest, if even they had not entirely repaired the injustice of them; but it should seem that the Spanish government was only to be unfortunate in the good it attempted to effect.

A CHANGE so unexpected filled those with consternation who saw their fortunes wrested from them, or who lost the flattering hope of transmit-

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ting theirs to their posterity. Even those who were not affected by these interested views, being accustomed to look upon the Indians as the instruments and victims of their avarice, had no conception that any other ideas could prevail concerning them. From astonishment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and sedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, till he could be conveyed to Spain.

GONZALES PIZARRO was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians took part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars; some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From fifteen to twenty thousand of these unhappy wretches, who were scattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and

and destroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be sanguinary. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito in the month of January, in the year 1545. Nunez and the greatest part of his men were massacred on this dreadful day.

PIZARRO took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Some officers wished that a canopy should be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation still more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even some houses, must be pulled down; as was the custom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himself with making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenant, who marched on foot. Four bishops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magistrates. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with the noise of bells and various musical instruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He spoke and acted in the most despotic manner.

HAD Gonzales possessed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been possible for him to render himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. The majority would have beheld this event with indifference, and the rest would have been obliged to consent

consent to it. Blind cruelties, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered these dispositions. Even those, whose interests were more connected with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer.

SUCH a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca. The squadron and the provinces of the mountains immediately declared for a person who was invested with a lawful authority to govern them. Those who lived concealed in deserts, caverns, and forests, quitted their retreats to join him. Gonzales, who saw no resource left to support him but in some great achievement, took the road of Cusco, with a resolution to give battle. At some leagues distance from this place he met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June, 1548. One of his lieutenants, seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman: but this weak man chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Carvajal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himself, was quartered. This madman, when he was expiring, boasted that he had massacred with his own hand fourteen hundred Spaniards, and twenty thousand Indians.

SUCH was the last scene of a tragedy, of which every act has been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proscriptions; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had suffered kept the Spaniards in the bounds of subjection. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised

in their minds insensibly sank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempest.

WITH regard to the Peruvians, the most cruel measures were taken to render it impossible for them to rebel. Tupac Amaru, the heir of their last king, had taken refuge in some remote mountains, where he lived in peace. There he was so closely surrounded by the troops which had been sent out against him, that he was forced to surrender. The viceroy Francis de Toledo caused him to be accused of several crimes that he had not committed, and for which he was beheaded in 1571. All the other descendants of the Incas shared the same fate, under pretence that they had conspired against their conquerors. The horror of these enormities excited so universal an indignation both in the old and new world, that Philip II. thought himself obliged to disavow them; but the infamous policy of this prince was so notorious, that no credit was given to this appearance of his justice and humanity.

FROM this execrable period, there hath only been one trifling insurrection in Peru. An Indian, of the province of Xauxa, who declared himself of the blood of the Incas, was proclaimed king in 1742. His countrymen, who flattered themselves that they should soon recover their religion, their laws, their lands, and their glory, flocked in crowds to his standard: but they were beaten and dispersed, after having made a considerable progress. The prisoners declared that this conspiracy had been brooding for thirty years. A singular

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

gular example in history, and which may be regarded as the most authentic proof of the hatred of the Peruvians against the Spaniards.

THE empire of Peru, at the time it was subdued, extended along the South Sea, from the river of Emeralds to Chili, and on the land side to Popayan, according to some geographers. It contained within its extent that famous chain of mountains which rises in the Terra Magellanica, and is gradually lost in Mexico, in order to unite, as it should seem, the southern parts of America with the northern. Its territory, which is very irregular, may be divided into three classes.

THE principal Cordeleras form the first: the summits of these, says M. de la Condamine, are lost in the clouds, and almost all of them are covered with enormous masses of snow as old as the world. From several of these summits, which have in part tumbled down, and from these immense heaps of snow, torrents of smok and flame issue. Such are the summits of Colopaxi, Tongourargua, and Sangai. The greatest part of the rest have formerly been volcanos, or will probably one day become such. History has only preserved to us the æra of their eruptions since the discovery of America; but the pumice-stones, the calcined earths with which they are strewn, and the evident vestiges that the flame hath left, are authentic testimonies of the reality of former eruptions: their height is prodigious.

CAYAMBOUR, which is situated directly under the equator, and Antisena, which is only five leagues

leagues distant from it to the south, are more than three thousand toises high, reckoning from the level of the sea; and Chimboraco, which is near 3220 toises high, surpasses by one third the altitude of the Peak of Teneriffe, the highest mountain of the old hemisphere. Pitchincha and Caracón, where the French Academicians made most of their observations with regard to the figure of the earth, have only 2430 and 2470 toises of absolute height; and this is the highest mountain that was ever ascended. Eternal snows have hitherto rendered summits of greater altitude inaccessible.

FROM this boundary, which is where the snow never melts, not even in the torrid zone, one hardly sees, in descending an hundred or an hundred and fifty toises down, any thing except naked rocks or dry sands: a little lower, one may perceive some moss that covers the rocks, various kinds of heath, which, though green and damp, make a clear fire; round hillocks of spongy earth, on which grow small radiated and starry plants, whose petals are like the leaves of yew. Throughout the whole of this space, the snow is only temporary; but it continues sometimes whole weeks and months. Lower still, the ground is commonly covered with a sort of loose grass, which rises a foot and a half high, or two feet. This species of hay is the proper characteristic that distinguishes the mountains which the Spaniards call *Paramos*. They only give this name to heath, or such uncultivated ground that is too high for wood to grow on it, or where the rain seldom falls

falls otherwise than in the form of snow, though it immediately melts. And, lastly, in descending still lower, to the height of about two thousand toises above the level of the sea, one sees it sometimes snow and sometimes rain.

WHEN we come down from these mountains, we find others that are less considerable, which occupy the middle of Peru. The summit of these is commonly cold, barren, and full of mines. The vallies between them are covered with numerous flocks, and seem to offer to agriculture the most copious harvests. There are seldom above two months of winter here; and in the greatest heat we need only pass out of the sun into the shade, to enjoy the temperate zone. This rapid alternative of sensation is not, however, invariable in a climate, which, by the disposition alone of the ground, often changes in the course of a league. But let it be as it will, it is always found healthy. There is no malady peculiar to these countries, and those of our climate seldom prevail there. An European vessel, however, in 1719, brought thither an epidemic disorder, which carried off a great number of Spaniards and Mestees, and above two hundred thousand Indians. A more fatal present still, which these people have received in exchange for their gold, is the small pox. It shewed itself here for the first time in 1588, and has not failed since to make at intervals inexpressible ravages.

THE people are not less exposed to this fatal distemper on the coasts known by the name of valleys. Their temperature is not the same as

is elsewhere found in the same latitude. It is very agreeable; and, though the four seasons of the year are sensibly felt here, there is none that can with propriety be deemed inconvenient. The winter is the most strongly marked. This has been accounted for by the winds of the south pole, which bring along with them the impression of those snows and that ice from which they first came: but this they preserve only in part, because they blow while a thick fog lies upon the earth. In reality, these gross vapours never regularly rise but towards noon; but it is seldom that they disperse. The sky commonly continues so much covered with them, that the rays of the sun, which sometimes appear, cannot but in a very slight manner mitigate the cold.

Whatever may be the cause of so regular a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that these valleys, which are covered with heaps of sand, are absolutely barren for a space of more than an hundred leagues, from Truxillo to Lima. The rest of the coast is less sandy, but it is still too much so to be fruitful. No fields are there found that can be styled fertile, except in such lands as are watered by the streams which descend from the mountains.

RAIN might contribute to impart to the soil the fertility of which it is destitute; but it is never known to rain in lower Peru. Natural philosophy has exerted its efforts to discover the cause of a phenomenon so extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the south-west wind, which prevails there the greatest part of the year; and to the prodigious

digious height of the mountains, whose summit is covered with eternal ice? The country situated between both, being continually cooled on one side, and continually heated on the other, maintains so equal a temperature, that the clouds which rise can never be condensed so far as to be resolved into water. To this it is owing that the houses, though only built of crude brick or of earth mixed with a little grass, are of eternal duration. Their covering is only a simple matting, placed horizontally, with a layer of ashes an inch deep above, to absorb the moisture of the fog.

THE same reasons that prevent its raining in the valleys, undoubtedly also hinder storms. Those of their inhabitants who never travelled in the mountains, are perfect strangers to thunder and lightning. Their terror is equal to their astonishment, when; out of their country, they first behold so uncommon a spectacle.

BUT they have a phenomenon much more dangerous and dreadful, and which, in its consequences, leaves much deeper impressions in the human imagination than thunder and the ravages that accompany it. Earthquakes, which in other countries are so rare that whole generations pass without beholding one, are so common in the valleys of Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a series of dates; and they are so much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminish their violence. There are few places on this extensive coast which present not most dreadful monuments of these horrible convulsions of the earth.

THIS

THIS phænomenon, which is ever irregular in its sudden returns, is however announced by very perceptible omens. When the shock is considerable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noise of which is like that of heavy rain falling from a cloud that suddenly bursts and discharges its waters. This noise seems to be the effect of a vibration of the air, which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then observed to dart in their flight. Neither their tails nor their wings serve them any longer as oars and helm to swim in the fluid of the skies. They dash themselves in pieces against the walls, the trees, and the rocks, whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuses them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their strength and power to command their movements.

TO this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, whose cavities and deep recesses re-echo each other's noises. The dogs answer these previous tokens of a general disorder of nature by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals stop, and by a natural instinct spread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon these indications, the inhabitants instantly run out of their houses, with terror impressed on their countenances, and fly to search in the enclosures of public places, or in the fields, an asylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the sudden darkness of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity, which subverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

distressed and confounded, and loses in the contemplation of this disorder the thought and courage to remedy it.

A LAND, however, so unsteady on its basis, was inhabited. Amidst these horrors of nature, which might seem calculated to make tyrants and slaves equally ferocious and brutal, was formed a flourishing empire. Its population cannot reasonably be called in question, when we behold self-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered ; when we attend to the astonishing number of men engaged in the service of government, and deriving their subsistence from the state. Such a number of persons employed necessarily imply an immense population, in order to maintain with the productions of the earth a very numerous class of inhabitants, who are not themselves concerned in cultivation.

By what fatality, then, hath it happened that Peru is now such a desert ? By tracing things to their origin, we find that those who conquered the coast of the South Sea, being ruffians, without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of New Spain. The mother country was a longer time before she checked their ferocity, which was continually fomented by those long and cruel civil wars that succeeded the conquest. A system of oppression was afterwards established, the progress of which it is proper to examine, with whatever horror it may inspire us.

THE Peruvians were at first deprived of their possessions, as the Mexicans had been. Only a part of those lands, which, in the times of the Incas, had been consecrated to public occasions, was left to them in common. This portion hath been gradually diminished by the usurpations of powerful people, and especially by the monks. The produce of the lands that remain for the maintenance of the infirm, the aged, the widows, and orphans, is not more respected; the greatest part of it is collected in the granaries of their oppressors.

THE liberty of the Indians underwent the same fate as their property. Those who were the slaves of government, and were employed in the labours indispensably necessary for new establishments, were ill-fed and ill-clothed. When there was no longer any occupation for them, they were transferred to private persons, whose siefs stood in need of hands to cultivate them. In truth, these new masters were obliged to retain them in their service only six months, after which they might return to their cottages; but avarice soon found means to render a transient servitude perpetual. The wages regulated for these unhappy wretches were insufficient. They were tempted by advance-money, which their necessity led them to accept. From that time the greatest part of them found themselves engaged for life; because they had no right of going away till they had paid the debts which they contracted, which their poverty rendered it impossible for them ever to do. Tyranny was carried to great lengths against this species of insolvent debtors, who had

a family; for they put them in prison. In order to obtain their enlargement, their wives and their children were security for them, and these became as many new slaves. Thus it was that the yoke of slavery was perpetuated. The sole consideration that could have served as a check to this barbarism was, that, while the Spaniards had these Indians, they could not have other slaves; but it was always of singular utility, to keep men whom they had formed for every purpose they wanted them; especially manufacturers, whom it would always be difficult, often impossible, to replace.

WHILE most of the Peruvians belonging to the crown fell in this manner into a state of servitude, those who had been reduced into subjection at the time of the conquest were still more wretched. Though the master of the district where they dwelt had no right to exact of them any thing except a tribute, which he shared with the treasury, he appropriated to himself all their labour. Oppression was carried to such lengths, that it roused the attention of the government. It hath gradually suppressed all this despotism of individuals, and there was nothing of it remaining in 1750. The Indians, however, who seemed to be restored to liberty by this new arrangement, have only changed the yoke. They have been destined to fill up the vacancy of the *Mitayos*, or royal Indians, who perished in the service of those to whom they were consigned; and their condition is as wretched as it was before.

INDEPENDENT of this methodical and legal oppression, which is exercised upon the whole nation, there

there are a number of particular cruelties, at which humanity no less recoils. It is expressly prohibited by law, that the Peruvians should be obliged to work in the subterraneous mines; and yet there is no miner, who by his influence or by his profusion cannot compel them to it. These unhappy beings are condemned to pay 26 livres 5 sous* of a poll tax, from eighteen years of age to fifty, throughout the greatest part of Peru: the farmers exact this enormous tribute beyond the term settled, and even exact it twice a year, when the acquaintances have been mislaid. Every proprietor of land, who hath killed an Indian by overworking him, or letting him want necessaries, is obliged to lose another slave out of the number he is allowed to keep; and there are not, perhaps, two instances even of this slight punishment for a crime which is repeated every day. The law obliges all the inhabitants of a village to be enrolled, in order to fulfill in their turn the obligation imposed on the community; this destination is never fulfilled, unless by those who are incapable of redeeming themselves from the oppression. When a Spaniard hath ceded a portion of land to a Peruvian, in order to fix him on his estate, he has no right to deprive him of it till the clauses of the contract have been declared by law to be violated: the persons in power despise these forms, and resume their possessions whenever their interests or caprices prompt them to it. Travellers, who are obliged to take nothing but by mutual consent, boldly seize every

* About 11. 3 s.

thing that they find in the huts. This continual pillage prevents the Indians from having any thing, even common necessaries. They sow no maize, but what is absolutely necessary for them, and they conceal it in secret caverns. The heads of a family possess alone the secret of this deposit, and go every eight days there to fetch provisions for the week. In fine, the corregidores have for the most part appropriated to themselves the exclusive right of selling to the Indians of their district the merchandise of Europe; and they either make them pay an exorbitant price for it, or oblige them to purchase what they do not want.

If the court of Madrid pretends that it has prevented these flagrant enormities, by giving the Peruvians a Spanish protector, who is obliged to defend them, and a cacique of the country, who is charged with the management of their affairs, it is deceived. The protector annually receives from each of them 13 sous *, and the cacique six sous and a half †, in his particular jurisdiction: and this is the only reformation that has been made. The protector sells the Indians to any that will purchase them; and the cacique is too much debased to be able to oppose this oppression.

RELIGION has not more power than the laws; it has still less. The clergy are the greatest enemies the Peruvians have. They make them work without paying them; and beat them unmercifully for the most trifling causes. When any of these unhappy wretches hath not observed his instruc-

* About 7 pence,

† About 3 pence halfpenny.

tions, he is directly punished ; and blows are the paternal correction which these pastors inflict. No one presumes to approach them without some present. They have permitted their parishioners to continue such of their ancient superstitions as are useful to the church ; as for instance, the custom of carrying a great deal of provisions to the tombs of the dead. The clergy fix an arbitrary price upon their functions, and they have always some pious inventions which give them occasion to exact new duties. The collections of the monks are real military executions. They are a species of plunder committed by authority, and almost always accompanied with violence. This conduct could not fail to render christianity odious to the Indians. These people go to church as they do to the labours imposed upon them, execrating those foreign barbarians who overwhelm both their bodies and their souls with intolerable yokes and burdens.

THEY have in general preserved the religion of their ancestors ; and even in the great towns, where they are under the eyes of their tyrants, they have solemn days on which they assume their ancient dress, and carry along the streets the images of the sun and moon. Some among them represent a tragedy, the subject of which is the death of Atabalipa. The audience, who begin with shedding tears, are afterwards transported into a kind of madness. It seldom happens in these festivals, but that some Spaniard is slain. One day, perhaps, this tragedy will end in the massacre of the whole race of the murderers of Atabalipa ; and the priests who sacrificed him will, in their

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

turn, become victims for all the blood which they caused to be shed on the altar of a God of peace.

THE Peruvians are moreover an instance of that profound stupidity, into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. Can it be possible that these people should have any kind of attachment, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery has taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which their country hath offered them, do not tempt them; luxury, to which nature invites them, has no attraction for them. They are even insensible to honours. They are whatever one pleases, without any ill humour, or choice, *caciques* or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. They have lost all their passions. That of fear itself has often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

SUCH is the condition of almost all nations that have no property. In hot countries, where one may live at a small expence, where the earth gives much, and requires little, every man, who can but subsist without ever being in possession of any property, passes his life in ease and beggary; and neither labours for the morrow, nor for posterity. The universal fault of bad governments, and they
are

are almost all so, is in the legislative code with regard to the article of property. It should either be said that none ought to be admitted, or the most exact equilibrium that is possible ought to be maintained in this social balance. But of all legislations, the most destructive, and the least permanent, is that of a nation composed of rich and indolent proprietors, and slaves that are poor and overburdened. It soon becomes only one general system of idleness, cruelties, gibbets, and tortures, on one side; hatred, poison, and insurrection, on the other; the ruin and destruction of both; the perdition and dissolution of society.

THE empire of Peru was reduced to such a state of depopulation as rendered it necessary that it should be supplied by the purchase of a foreign race; but this mode of raising supplies, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than useful to the country of the Incas. The Spaniards do not derive from it all the advantages with which they had flattered themselves. The government hath thought proper to throw obstacles in its way, by monopolies and taxes, which it ever imposes on vices as well as on virtues, on industry and idleness, on good and bad projects, on the right of exercising oppressions, and the permission of being exempted from them; on the power of putting the laws in execution, and the privilege of infringing or eluding them. Independent of these excessive duties laid on the introduction of negroes into Peru, it was necessary to receive them from an exclusive charter, and from foreign hands to im-
port

port them across immense seas and unwholesome climates, and to undergo the expence of several embarkations. Necessity, stronger than these obstacles, has however multiplied this species of men more at Peru than at Mexico. There is also a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reasons.

To what degree the Spaniards have multiplied in Peru. Where, and how, they have formed their settlements. What species of cultivation, and what industry, they have introduced into the empire.

AT the time when the first conquests were made, when emigrations were most frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain ; and, in reality, for a long time much more considerable treasures were brought away from it. The desire of partaking of them must necessarily draw thither, as was really the case, a greater number of Castilians. Though they all almost went over there with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them settled in the colony. They were induced to this by the softness of the climate, the salubrity of the air, and the goodness of the provisions. Mexico presented not the same advantages, and did not give them reason to expect so much independence as a land infinitely more remote from the mother-country.

Cusco attracted the conquerors in multitudes. They found this capital built on a ground that was very irregular, and divided into as many quarters as there were provinces in the empire. Each of the inhabitants might follow the usages of his native country ; but every body was obliged to conform to the worship established by the founder of the monarchy. There was no edifice that had
any

any grandeur, elegance, or convenience; because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. The magnificence of what they called the palace of the sovereign, of the princes of the blood, and of the great men of his empire, consisted in the profusion of the metals that were lavished in decorating them. The temple of the sun was distinguished above all other edifices; its walls were incrustcd or sheathed with gold and silver, ornamented with divers figures, and loaded with the idols of all the nations whom the Incas had enlightened and subdued,

PROFLIGATE and idle monks have prostituted these rich metals to other superstitions; substituted to the useful prejudices of the climate others of a more destructive kind; and expelled the natural errors suited to the turn of the inhabitants by foreign tenets, highly absurd in themselves, as well as repugnant to the human mind and to every social tie. The same fatality which subverts the universe, the ocean, the land, empires and nations; which alternately diffuses on the globe the enlightening spirit of the arts, and the darkness of ignorance; which transplants men and opinions, as the winds and currents drive fish and sea-weeds on the shore: this same destiny has decreed that a set of proud monks, enervated at once by indolence and voluptuousness, should insolently indulge themselves in ease upon the ashes of the virtuous Incas, in the centre of an empire formerly so blessed under these legislators. This deplorable revolution does not hinder the
Peru-

Peruvians, who, in general, have the greatest aversion for living in cities, because inhabited by Spaniards, from voluntarily chusing to reside at Cusco. They still love to behold that venerable place, from which those holy laws originated that rendered their ancestors so happy. The remembrance of this inspires them with an elevation of soul; and they are found to be less stupid on this celebrated spot, than in other parts of their empire.

On a hill north of the capital was a citadel, which the Incas had built with much care, time, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long spoke of this monument of Peruvian industry with a spirit of admiration that imposed upon all Europe. We have seen the ruins of this fortress, and the marvellous has disappeared: nothing has remained but the astonishment, which must necessarily be occasioned by the sight of the enormous masses of stone, which have been brought from a considerable distance, without the assistance of levers and other machines that are known to more enlightened nations.

Four leagues from this fortress we meet with a delicious valley, where the Incas and the great men of the empire had their country-houses. This enchanting retreat so well preserves its reputation, that the richest inhabitants of Cusco believe there is something deficient in their system of happiness when they cannot purchase a piece of ground there. The sick ordinarily repair thither in search of health, and it rarely happens but they find it,

As it was not a solicitude for their own preservation which occupied the Spaniards at first, they had no sooner pillaged the immense riches which had been amassed at Cusco for four centuries, than they went in great numbers in 1534, under the order of Sebastian de Benalcazar, to undertake the destruction of Quito. The other towns and boroughs of the empire were overrun with the same spirit of rapine; and the citizens and the temples were plundered in all parts.

THOSE of the conquerors, who did not take up their residence in the settlements which they found already formed, built towns on the sea-coasts, where before there were none; for the sterility of the soil had not permitted the Peruvians to multiply much there; and they had not been induced to remove thither from the extremity of their country, because they failed very little. Paita, Truxillo, Callao, Pisca, and Arica, were the roads which the Spaniards deemed most convenient for the communication they intended to establish among themselves and with the mother-country. The different positions of these new cities determined the degree of their prosperity.

THOSE which were afterwards built in the inland parts of the country were not erected in regions which presented a fertile soil, copious harvests, excellent pastures, a mild and salubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. These places, which had hitherto been so well cultivated by a numerous and flourishing people, were now totally disregarded. Very soon they exhibited only a de-

a deplorable picture of a horrid desert; and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illusions of glory and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold, that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

THIS insatiable thirst of gold, which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have decayed, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all has corresponded with the discovery, progress, or declension of the mines to which they were subordinate.

FEWER errors have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived hardly on any thing else but maize, fruits, and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified; of these the *chica* was the most usual; which is made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour,
after

after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and must not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when used immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than eight days without turning sour. Its taste is nearly that of the most indifferent kind of cyder. It is a refreshing, nourishing, and aperitive liquor. The Indians, who are never troubled with suppressions of urine, are said to owe that advantage to the use of this drink.

THE conquerors were not satisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had subdued. They imported vines from the old world, which soon multiplied sufficiently in the sands of the coasts at Ica, Pisca, Nasca, Moquegua, and Truxillo, to furnish the colony with the wine and brandy it wanted. Olives succeeded still better, and yielded a great abundance of oil, which was much superior to that of the mother-country. Other fruits were transplanted with the same success. Sugar succeeds so well that none of any other growth can be compared to that which is cultivated in these parts, where it never rains. In the inland country wheat and barley were sown; and at length all the European quadrupeds were soon found grazing at the foot of the mountains.

THIS was a considerable step; but there still remained much more to be done. After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of subsistence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dress more commodious and more agreeable than

than that of the Peruvians. These were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this superiority to the advantage which they alone possessed, of having the lama and the pacos, domestic animals which served them for this use.

THE lama is an animal four feet high, and five or six in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long snout, and thick lips. Its mouth has no incisors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like those of the ox, but furnished with a spur behind, which enables it to fasten itself on the sides of steep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool, which is short on its back, but grows long on its sides and under the belly, constitutes part of its usefulness. Though very salacious, these animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female prostrates herself to receive the male, and invites him by her sighs; they are sometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfill the desire of nature. Thus several of our domestic animals; that are chained, broken, forced, and restrained in all their freest motions and sensations, lose, through ineffectual efforts, the principles of generation while they are confined in stables, if care and attention does not supply the place of that liberty of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of short duration.

duration. At three years old it propagates its species, preserves its vigour till twelve, then decays till it reaches fifteen, being worn out by labour.

THE lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about an hundred weight. They move with a slow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; descending through gullies, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they rest of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

NATURE has formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild and phlegmatic, moderate and prudent, like the Americans. When they stop, they bend their knees and stoop their body in such a manner as not to discompose their burthen. As soon as they hear their driver whistle, they rise with the same care, and proceed on their journey. They browse on the grass they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when asleep, reclining on their breast, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither dispirited by fasting nor drudgery, while they have any strength remaining; but, when they are totally exhausted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpose to harraiss and beat them: they will continue obstinately striking their heads against the ground, first on one side, then on the other, till they kill themselves. They never defend themselves either with their feet or teeth; and in the height of their indignation content

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

themselves with only spitting in the face of those who insult them.

THE pacos is to the lama what the afs is to the horse, a subordinate species, smaller in size, with shorter legs, and a flat snout; but of the same disposition, the same manners, and the same constitution, as the lama; made, like the lama, to carry burthens, but more obstinate in its caprices, perhaps, because it is weaker.

THESE animals are so much the more useful to man, as their service costs him nothing. Their thick fur supplies the place of a pack-saddle. The little grass, which they find along the road, suffices for their food, and furnishes them with a plentiful and fresh saliva, which exempts them from the necessity of drinking.

AMONG the lamas, there are some of a wild species called guanacos, which are stronger, more sprightly, and more nimble, than the domestic lamas; running like the stag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with short wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds to the number sometimes of two or three hundred. If they see a man, they survey him at first with an air of greater astonishment than curiosity; then snuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the summit of the mountains. These animals seek the north, travel on the ice, and sojourn within the regions of snow, dreading the heat of the low lands; they are vigorous, and appear in vast numbers on the Sierras, which are of the same height as the Cordeleras; small in size, and difficult to be found in the heaths,

heaths, which are at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

BOOK
VII.

THE vicunas, a species of wild pacos, are still fonder of the summits of mountains, the snow, and the ice. Their wool is longer, thicker set, and much finer, than that of the guanacos. Its colour resembles that of dried roses, and so fixed by nature, that it cannot be altered in the hands of those who are employed in working it. The vicunas are so timid, that their fear itself makes them an easy prey to the hunter. Men surround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have suspended pieces of cloth or linen on cords, that are raised three or four feet from the ground. These rags, being agitated by the wind, strike such terror into them, that they stand crowded and squeezed one against another, suffering themselves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be, among the vicunas, a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and escape.

ALL these animals belong so peculiarly to South America, and especially to the highest Cordeleras, that they are never seen on the side of Mexico, where the height of these mountains is considerably diminished. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all died. The Spaniards, without reflecting that these animals even in Peru itself sought the coldest parts, transported them to the burning plains of Andalusia. They might, possibly, have succeeded at

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

the foot of the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for so many useful and profound observations on animals, is worthy the attention of statesmen, whose steps ought always to be guided by the lights of philosophy.

THE flesh of the lamas, when they are young, is good eating. The skin of the old ones serves the Indians for shoes, and the Spaniards for harness. The guanacos may also be eaten. But the vicunas are only sought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar that they produce.

IN general, the wool of the lamas, pacos, guanacos, and vicunas, was usefully employed by the Peruvians before the conquest. The inhabitants of Cusco made tapestry of it for the use of the court, in which flowers, birds, and trees, were pretty well imitated. It served also to make mantles, which were worn over a shirt of cotton. It is customary to tuck them up, in order to have the arms free. The principal people fastened them with gold and silver clasps; their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented with emeralds; and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of persons of distinction were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people, in the same climate, had no cloathing at all, except a girdle that was composed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts nature intended should be concealed.

AFTER the conquest, all the Indians were obliged to wear cloaths. As the oppression, under which

which they groaned, did not allow them to exercise their former industry, they contented themselves with the coarser cloths of Europe, for which they were made to pay an exorbitant price. When the gold and silver which had escaped the rapacity of the conquerors were exhausted, they thought of re-establishing their national manufactures. These were some time after prohibited, on account of the deficiency which they occasioned in the exports of the mother-country. The impossibility, which the Peruvians found of purchasing foreign stuffs and paying their taxes, occasioned permission to be given at the end of ten years for their re-establishment. They have not been discontinued since that time, and have been brought to as great a degree of perfection as it was possible they could be under a continual tyranny.

WITH the wool of the vicuna they make, at Cusco and in its territory, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. These manufactures would have been multiplied, if the spirit of destruction had not fallen on animals as well as on men. The same wool, mixed with that of the sheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably fine cloth. Fleeces of inferior quality are employed in serges, druggets, and in all kinds of coarse stuffs.

THE manufactures subservient to luxury are established at Arequipa, Cusco, and Lima. In these three towns is made a prodigious number of gold toys and plate, for the use of private persons, and also for the churches. All these manufactures

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

are but coarsely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. We seldom discover more taste in their gold and silver laces and embroideries which their manufactures also produce. This is not altogether the case in regard to their lace, which, when mixed with that of Europe, looks very beautiful. This last manufacture is commonly in the hands of the nuns, who employ in it the Peruvian girls, and the young Mestees of the towns, who for the most part before marriage pass some years in the convent,

OTHER hands are employed in painting and gilding leather for rooms, in making with wood and ivory pieces of inlaid work and sculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that is found at Cucuca, or on linen imported from Europe. These different works, which are almost all manufactured at Cusco, serve for ornaments for houses, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. If the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able masters, and excellent models, they would at least make good copyists. At the close of the last century, some works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jaques, were brought to Rome; and the connoisseurs discovered marks of genius in them.

THESE particulars will interest such of our readers, whom we shall have inspired with affection for one of the best nations that ever existed, and with esteem for one of the most excellent institutions that ever did honour to mankind. Those, who are strangers to that universal benevolence

lence which extends to all nations and all ages, will have experienced other sentiments. Accustomed to behold nothing in Peru but the produce of its mines, they must consequently regard with contempt every thing that has not a direct relation with their avarice. This would diminish, perhaps be totally corrected, if they were but disposed frequently to revolve by what barbarity and enormities it has been gratified.

THOUGH the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the use of gold and silver; for they employed them in different kinds of ornaments. Independent of what the torrents and accident procured them of these metals, some mines had been opened of little depth. The Spaniards have not transmitted to us the manner in which these rich productions were drawn from the bosom of the earth. Their pride, which has deprived us of so much useful knowledge, undoubtedly made them think, that, in the inventions of a people whom they called barbarous, there was nothing that was worthy to be recorded.

Of the
mines of
Peru.

THE difference as to the manner in which the Peruvians worked their mines did not extend to the mines themselves. The conquerors opened them on all sides. At first the gold mines tempted the avarice of the greater number. Fatal experience discouraged those whom passion had not blinded. They clearly saw, that, for some enormous fortunes raised in this manner, great numbers, who had only moderate fortunes, were totally ruined. These mines sank into such discredit, that, in order to prevent them from being abandoned,

done, the government was obliged to take the twentieth part of their produce, instead of the fifth which it at first received.

THE mines of silver were more common, more equal, and richer. They even produced silver of a singular species, rarely found elsewhere. Towards the sea-coast, great lumps of this metal are found in the sands. Subterraneous fires, volcanos, and the revolutions which America hath experienced and still continues to suffer, seem to indicate the causes of the transposition of those metallic masses that are met with in several parts of this continent.

THERE are a great number of other mines, which are infinitely more important, and are found in the rocks and on the mountains. Several of them gave false hopes. Such in particular was that of Ucuntaya, discovered 1713. This was only an incrustation of almost massive silver, which at first yielded several millions, but was soon exhausted.

OTHERS, which were deeper, have been alike deserted. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not sufficient to support the expence of working them, which augmented every day. The mines of Quito, Cusco, and Arequipa, have experienced that revolution which awaits many of the rest.

THERE are great numbers of very rich mines which the waters have invaded. The declivity of the soil, which from the summit of the Cordeleras runs continually shelving to the South Sea, must necessarily render these events more common at

Peru

Peru than in other places. This inconvenience, which with greater care and skill might often have been prevented or diminished, has been in some instances remedied. A single instance will be sufficient to shew that the avarice of mankind can struggle against that of nature, when she conceals or withdraws from us her treasures.

JOSEPH SALCEDO, about the year 1660, had discovered, not far from the town of Puna, the mine of Laycacota. It was so rich, that the silver was often cut with a chissel. Prosperity, which debases little minds, had so elevated that of the proprietor of so much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards, who came to seek their fortune in this part of the new world, to work some days on their own account, without weighing or taking any account of the presents he made them. This generosity attracted an infinite number of people about him, whose avidity made them quarrel with each other; the love of money made them take up arms, and fall upon one another; and their benefactor, who had neglected no expedient to prevent and extinguish their sanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. While he was in prison, the water got possession of his mine. Superstition soon made it imagined that this was a punishment for the infamous manner in which they had acted towards him. This idea of divine vengeance was revered for a long time; but at last, in 1740, Diego de Bacna associated with other opulent people, to avert the springs which had deluged so much treasure. The labours, which this difficult undertaking required, were

were not finished till 1754. The mine yields as much now as it did at first. But mines still richer than this have been discovered, which have experienced no revolution. Such, for example, is that of Potosi, which was found in the same country where the Incas worked that of Porco.

AN Indian, named Hualpa, in 1545, pursuing some deer, in order to climb certain steep rocks, laid hold of a bush, the roots of which loosened from the earth, and brought to view an ingot of silver. The Indian had recourse to it for his own use, and never failed to return to his treasure every time that his wants or his desires solicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanica, to whom he avowed the secret. The two friends could not keep their counsel and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; on which the indiscreet confident discovered the whole to his master Villaroell, a Spaniard that was settled in the neighbourhood. Upon this the mine became known and was worked; and a great number of mines were found in its vicinity; the principal of which are in the northern part of the mountain, and their direction is from north to south. The most intelligent people of Peru have observed, that this is in general the direction of the richest mines.

THE fame of what was passing at Potosi soon spread abroad, and there was soon built at the foot of the mountain a town, consisting of sixty thousand Indians, and ten thousand Spaniards. The sterility of the soil did not prevent its being immediately peopled. Corn, fruits, flocks, American
stuffs,

stuffs, European luxuries, arrived there from every quarter. Industry, which every where follows the current of money, could not search for it with so much success as at its source. It evidently appeared that in 1738 these mines produced annually 22,338,975 livres *, without reckoning the silver which was not registered, and what had been carried off by smuggling. From that time the produce has been so much diminished, that no more than one eighth part of the coin which was formerly struck is now made.

THE mine of Potosi, and all the mines of South America, in purifying their gold and silver, use mercury, with which they are supplied from Guanaca Velica. Mercury, says an able naturalist, is found in two different states in the bosom of the earth; it is either altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, and then it is denominated virgin mercury, because it has not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine; or it is found combined with sulphur, and then it forms a substance of a red colour, which is more or less vivid, called cinnabar.

TILL the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately discovered at Montpellier under the buildings of the town itself, and for that reason will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except those of Udria in Carniola. These are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliae*. They were discovered by chance in

* Near 978,000*l*.

1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop in order to pass along; there are places where it is so hot, that, if one stops ever so short a time, one is in a profuse sweat: it is from these subterraneous caverns that mercury is drawn. Some stones are replete with it to that degree, that, when they are bruised, this substance issues out in the form of globules or drops. It is found also in a species of clay: sometimes even this mercury is seen running down like rain, and oozes so copiously among the rocks which form the vaults of these subterraneous caverns, that a man has often gathered thirty-six pounds of it in a day.

THERE are some people so fond of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which is mere prejudice. Experience shews that the best mercury that can be used, either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to separate the natural combination of these two volatile substances, sulphur and mercury, recourse must necessarily be had to the action of fire, to which some intermediate substance must be joined. This is either the filings of steel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or some fixed alkaline salt. This last species of mercury is drawn from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy; especially from Almaden in Spain, which was a famous mine even in the time of the Romans,

mans, and which with that of Guança Velica has for some short time contributed to serve the Spanish colonies.

THE common opinion is, that this last mine was discovered in 1564. The trade of mercury was then still free: it became an exclusive trade in 1571. At this period all the mines of mercury were shut; and that of Guança Velica alone was worked, the property of which the king reserved to himself. It is not found to diminish. This mine is dug in a prodigiously large mountain, sixty leagues from Lima. In its profound abyfs are seen streets, squares, and a chapel, where the mysteries of religion on all festivals are celebrated. Millions of flambeaux are continually kept to enlighten it.

THE earth, which contains the quicksilver of this mine, is, according to the opinion of a celebrated traveller, of a whitish red, like ill-burnt brick. It is pounded, and put into an earthen kiln, the upper part of which is a vault like an oven, somewhat of a spherical form. This is extended on an iron grate covered with earth, under which a gentle fire is kept up with the herb *icho*, which is fitter for this process than any other combustible matter, and the cutting of which on this account is prohibited twenty leagues round. The heat which penetrates this earth makes the pounded mineral so hot, that the quicksilver issues out of it volatilised in smoke. But, as the upper part of the kiln is closely stopped, the smoke finds no issue but by a small hole, which has a communication with a series of earthen retorts that are round, and the
the

the necks of which are inserted into each other. There this smoke circulates and condenses, by means of a little water which is at the bottom of each retort. The quicksilver then falls in a well-formed liquid. Less of it is collected in the first than in the last retorts. They would all grow so hot as to break in pieces, if care were not taken to sprinkle them on the outside with water.

PRIVATE people at their own expence work the mine of Guançá Velica. They are obliged to deliver to government, at a stipulated price, all the mercury they extract from it. As soon as they have procured the quantity which the demands of one year require, the work is suspended. Part of the mercury is sold on the spot, and the rest is sent to the royal magazines throughout all Peru; from whence it is delivered out at the same price as it is sold for in Mexico. This arrangement, which has occasioned many of the mines to drop, and prevented others from being opened, is inexcusable in the Spanish system. The court of Madrid, in this respect, merits the same reproaches as a ministry in other countries would incur, that would be blind enough to lay a duty on the implements of agriculture.

THE mine of Guançá Velica generally affects those, who work in it, with convulsions: this and the other mines, which are not less unhealthy, are all worked by the Peruvians. These unfortunate victims of an insatiable avarice are crowded all together and plunged naked into these abysses, the greatest part of which are deep, and all excessively cold.

cold. Tyranny has invented this refinement in cruelty, to render it impossible for any thing to escape its restless vigilance. If there are any wretches who long survive such barbarity, it is the use of cocoa that preserves them.

B O O K
VII.

THE cocoa is a shrub, which hardly ever rises higher than from three to four feet; its fruit is disposed in bunches. It is red when it begins to ripen, and black when it hath attained its maturity. Its leaf, which is soft, of a pale green, and resembling that of the myrtle, is the delight of the Peruvians. They chew it, after having mixed it with a white earth which they call *mambis*; it is used by them for food: it strengthens their stomachs, and supports their courage. If those who are buried in the mines are in want of it, they cease working, and no means whatever can compel them to resume their labour. Their oppressors, therefore, furnish them with as much as they require, subtracting the price of it from their daily wages. The environs of Cusco furnish the best cocoa.

THIS plant, the other productions of the country, and the produce of all the manufactures, are dispersed throughout the empire in three different ways. The towns situated on the coast are furnished with provisions by vessels that are adapted to those seas, which are always calm. An innumerable multitude of mules, which are brought from Tucuman, are used in the intercourse which several provinces have with each other. The greatest circulation is effected by means of the Guayaquil.

Mutual communication between the different provinces of Peru.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ON the banks of this river, the origin of which is in the Cordeleras, the Spaniards at the time of the conquest built a pretty considerable town, at six leagues distance from the sea. This is defended by three forts lately erected, and only garrisoned with burgeses. These forts are built with large pieces of wood, disposed in pallisades. The nature of this wood, which is proof against water, suits the moisture of the soil.

It is mentioned, in the accounts of a Spanish philosopher, that on this coast, as well as that of Guatimala, is found the murex, which yields that purple so celebrated by the antients, and which the moderns have imagined was lost. The shell which contains it adheres to the rocks that are washed by the sea. It is of the size of a large walnut. The liquor of this animal may be extracted two ways; some kill it, after they have drawn it out of the shell; then press it with a knife from head to tail; separate from the body the part where the liquor is collected, and throw away the rest. When this operation, after being repeated on several snails, has afforded a certain quantity of fluid, the thread intended to be dyed is dipped in it, and the process is finished. The colour, which is at first of the whiteness of milk, becomes afterwards green, and is not purple till the thread is dry. Those who disapprove this method draw the fish partly out of the shell, and, squeezing it, make it yield a fluid which serves for dying: they repeat this operation four times at different intervals, but always with less success. If they continue it, the fish dies, by their destroying that which constitutes

constitutes the first principle of its life, and which it is no longer able to renew. No colour at present known can be compared to this of which we are speaking, either as to lustre, liveliness, or duration; it succeeds better with cotton than with wool, linen, or silk.

BESIDES this object of curiosity, Guayaquil furnishes the inland country of the empire with oxen, mules, salt, and salt-fish; it supplies Europe and Mexico with a great quantity of cocoa, but Peru with only a small quantity, as there the herb of Paraguay is generally preferred. It is the universal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might, partly, become that of the mother country. We know no country on the globe that equally abounds in wood for ship-building and masts, either as to quality or quantity. Hemp and pitch, of which it is destitute, might easily be furnished by Chili and Guatimala.

BUT what renders Guayaquil of still greater importance, is the advantage it possesses of being the necessary mart and bond of communication of the mountains of Peru with its valleys, with Panama, and with Mexico. All the merchandise which these countries exchange, passes through the hands of its merchants. The largest vessels stop at the harbour of the island of Puna, which is situated at the entrance of the gulph; and others go up the river about forty leagues.

NOTWITHSTANDING so many sources of prosperity, the people of Guayaquil, whose numbers amount to twenty thousand souls, are far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants

have been successively destroyed nine times by fires, which have been ascribed to the discontentedness of the negroes; and by pirates, who have twice sacked the town. Those fortunes, which have been acquired since these fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate, where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains incessant for six months; where dangerous and noisome insects do not allow any tranquillity; where distempers of the most opposite degrees of temperature appear to be united; where one lives in the perpetual dread of losing one's sight; such a climate is by no means proper to fix the residence of its inhabitants. Such persons are only seen here, as have not acquired estates sufficient to enable them to remove elsewhere, and spend their days in indolence and pleasure. A taste, which predominates in the empire, induces the most opulent to reside at Lima.

THIS capital of Peru, so celebrated in all parts of the world, is situated at two leagues from the sea, in a delicious plain, at about an equal distance from the equator and the southern tropic, to unite as it were all the riches and delights of South America. The prospect from it on one side extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it commands a distance of thirty leagues as far as the Cordeleras. The soil of its territory is nothing but a heap of flints, which the sea has undoubtedly in a series of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the surface, which the spring waters, that are every where found on digging, have brought from the mountains. It is
in

in vain that the Spaniards would attribute the origin of these waters to their being filtrated from the sea; the theory of the globe and its natural construction testify against the validity of this opinion, which all experiments besides confirm to be false.

SUGAR canes, incredible multitudes of olives, some vines, artificial meads, pastures full of salt, which give mutton an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. A sea replete with fish contributes its stores to render provisions plentiful at a moderate price. Crops of wheat and barley added to this resource; but an earthquake, happening about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. After forty years of sterility, the husbandman, seeing the soil improved, was disposed to resume his former occupations. Chili, which had an exclusive privilege of furnishing Lima with provisions, opposed the cultivation of its territory; and the capital of Spain did not allow that of Peru to support itself again by its own productions till 1750.

LIMA, founded more than two centuries ago, and built by the destroyers of Peru, has been destroyed at different times by eleven earthquakes. The twelfth, which happened on the 28th of October 1746, in three minutes time ingulphed the town, its harbour of Callao, all the vessels belonging to the coast, with fifteen hundred millions*, as it is reported, of silver, either coined, worked, or in ingots. Those who had for a long time been

* 65,525,000 l.

sunk as it were into a state of lethargy, have been awakened by this violent concussion. A new spirit of activity and emulation has been productive of labour and industry. Lima, though less wealthy, is at present more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates presented to the view of the duke of Palata, on his entering, streets paved with silver.

THESE streets now are only regular, with neat houses and public buildings which display skill and taste. The water of the river, which washes its walls, has been confined in proper channels, and distributed for the convenience of the citizens, the ornament of gardens, and the fertility of the fields.

BUT the walls of the city are defective from the very solidity of their foundations. At the distance of a few leagues from Lima we see some houses, formerly built, that were but just placed as it were on the surface of the earth, without any cement; which, however, have resisted those assaults and convulsions that have overturned the deep-laid edifices of the Spaniards. The natives of the country, when they saw the foundations dug, and built with mortar, said that their tyrants were digging graves for themselves. Perhaps it was some consolation to the wretchedness of the conquered; to foresee that the earth itself would take its revenge of its depopulators; but in this respect two centuries of chastisement have not reformed them. The pleasure of having commodious houses, or the vanity of raising spacious ones, still triumphs over the danger of their being crushed to pieces.

THE

THE scourges of nature, which gave occasion to the introduction of the arts into Lima, have produced no happy revolution in the manners of its inhabitants. Superstition, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, at Peru has two scepters at its command; one of gold, for the usurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enslaved and pillaged inhabitants. The scapulary and the rosary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards. It is on the form and colour of these kinds of talismans that the populace and the grandees found the prosperity of their undertakings, the success of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their salvation. The religious habit assumed in the last moments, constitutes the security of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapped in this cloathing, which is so formidable to the devil, he will not dare to descend into their graves, and seize upon their souls. If their ashes repose near the altar, they hope to partake of the sacrifices and prayers of the priests, much more than the poor and the slaves. Influenced by such fatal prejudices, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which secure their happiness in this world, and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promise of eternal life, secure to the monks a fortune, which they can no longer enjoy; and families are disappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honesty or fraud, by legacies which serve to enrich men who have discovered the secret of escaping poverty by

devoting themselves to it. Thus it is that the order of sentiments, ideas, and things, is subverted; and the children of opulent parents are condemned to misery by the pious rapaciousness of a number of voluntary mendicants. The French, Dutch, and English, lose their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole universe; and such is the madness of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houses of Peru belongs to the priesthood, or depends on them with regard to rent. The institution of Monkish orders has done at Peru what the law of the *Vacuf* will do, sooner or later, at Constantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to secure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it, by leaving it to a monastery from the dread of being damned. The means are a little different, but in the end the effect is the same. In both countries the church is the gulph, in which all the riches are absorbed; and these Castilians, who were heretofore so formidable, shrink before superstition, as Asiatic slaves do in the presence of their despot.

If we were to judge of the Creoles from these extravagances, we should be tempted to believe them to be totally stupid; but we should be mistaken. The inhabitants of the valleys have some degree of penetration, and those of the mountains are not destitute of it. Both deem themselves very much superior to the Spanish Europeans, whom they consider as *cavallos*, that is to say, brutes.

THEY possess more understanding than courage. All these people, though dissatisfied with government, are alike submissive to it. Men every where forget their numbers and their strength. There, even the very name of royal officers is formidable; and four soldiers, dispatched by the viceroy, make whole towns tremble at the distance of four hundred leagues from the capital.

THIS timidity in a Peruvian is the cause or the effect of his effeminacy. He lives among courtezans, or amuses himself at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He is afraid to diminish the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. The majority of the inhabitants marry behind the church, that is their expression, which signifies living in a state of concubinage. If the children who issue from this commerce are acknowledged by their parents, they inherit, and their birth incurs no stain. The bishops anathematize every year, at Easter, those persons who are united in these illicit bonds. But what power have these vain terrors against the impulse of amorous desires, which are sanctified by custom, against the toleration or example of ecclesiastics of the second order, and against the climate, which is continually contending, and at last proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppose its influence?

THE charms of the Peruvian women are superior to the terror which the spiritual arms of Rome inspire. The majority of them, especially the women of Lima, have eyes sparkling with vivacity, a fair skin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of sprightliness and life, and a slender and

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

well-formed shape, which is extremely alluring. But that which has a greater effect on the men, is the smallness of a pretty foot, which in their infancy is fashioned to this diminutiveness by strait shoes. They turn away from the large feet of the Spanish women, to admire those of a Peruvian, who, to the artifice of generally concealing them, adds the happy address of sometimes letting them be seen.

To these very small feet we may add long tresses, which might serve as a veil to modesty, on account of their thickness and colour, and their natural disposition to grow long. The women of Lima dress some of their hair very high on their heads, and the rest they suffer to fall on their shoulders in the form of ringlets, without buckling or curling it. They are so jealous of preserving it in its own natural beauty, that they do not put the least additional ornament to it. Pearls and diamonds are reserved for ear-rings, for large necklaces, for bracelets, for rings, and for a plate of gold suspended on the center of the bosom by a ribband which goes round the body. A woman even who has no titles, and is not ennobled, seldom goes out full-dressed, but she displays in jewels from the value of an hundred to an hundred and fifty thousand livres *; yet it is the fashion to affect an indifference for these trifles. It is necessary that a woman should lose, or let fall some of them without taking notice of it, that she should always have some jewel to replace or to add.

* On an average about 5,500*l*.

BUT what seduces the eyes, and raises the greatest emotion, is a dress which leaves the bosom and the shoulders bare, and only descends to half-way the leg. From thence to the ankle falls a lace, through which are seen the ends of garters embroidered with gold or silver, and ornamented with pearls. The linen, the petticoat, the habit, all is loaded with the finest lace. A woman seldom appears in public without being attended by three or four slaves, most of them mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their mistresses.

THESE ladies are fond of perfumes. They are never without amber; they scent their linen and their cloaths with it, and even their nosegays, as if there were something wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With these they adorn their sleeves, and sometimes their hair, like shepherdesses. In the great square of Lima, where there are every day sold flowers to the amount of sixteen or twenty thousand livres *, ladies are seen in gilt calashes, purchasing what is most rare without regard to the price; and men in crowds, adoring and contemplating what nature has formed most charming to embellish and enchant the dream of life.

WHERE can these delights be enjoyed more than at Peru? It is the proper province of the women to feel and communicate them. Among other

* Near 800 l. on an average.

pleasures the women of Lima love music, of which they are extravagantly fond. Nothing is heard on every side but singing, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music. They have frequent balls. They dance here with surprizing lightness; but they neglect the graces of the arms, to attend to the agility of the feet, and especially to the inflections of the body; which are images of the true emotions of voluptuousness, as the expression of the countenance is the true accompaniment of dancing. As the arms conspire to give grace to the attitude, so the ideas of pleasure are still more strongly expressed by the body. In countries where these sensations are most lively, dancing will agitate the feet and the body more than the arms.

SUCH are the pleasures which the women taste and diffuse at Lima. Among many expedients to heighten and preserve their charms, they have a custom which it were to be wished that they would consent to abandon, which is the use of *limpion*. This name is given to small rolls of tobacco, four inches long and nine lines in diameter, wrapped in the whitest thread, from which the tobacco is drawn out as it is used. The ladies only put the end of the limpion to their mouth, and chew it for a moment.

THIS mastication is particularly used in public assemblies, where women receive company. Here is a drawing-room, along one side of which runs an alcove half a foot high, and five or six feet broad; it is here that, carelessly seated, and with crossed legs on carpets and superb cushions, they pass

pass whole days without changing their posture even to eat; they use little tables, placed before them, for any work with which they choose to amuse themselves. The men whom they admit to their conversation sit in elbow chairs, unless their adorers, from greater intimacy, are permitted to descend in the alcove, which is, as it were, the sanctuary of worship and of the idol. Yet these goddesses love rather to be affable than haughty; and, banishing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and sing and dance when they are desired.

THEIR husbands are not the persons who are the chief objects of their complaisance. As the greatest part of the most considerable citizens of Lima are devoted to their courtezans, the great heiresses are reserved for Europeans, who come over into America. The advantage which these have of making the fortunes of their husbands, naturally prompts them to exert an authority over them: but let them only have the sway of which they are so jealous, and they will prove constantly faithful. So closely is virtue connected with a certain degree of pride!

THE manners of the Mestees, and of the free Mulattoes, who compose the greatest part of the inhabitants of Lima, and who are employed in the arts, hardly differ from the manners of the Spaniards. The habit they have contracted of sleeping after dinner, and reposing one part of the day, makes them set a greater price upon their labour than they ought. The time they devote to labour must procure them the conveniences as well

as the luxuries of life, which in general they carry to great excess. Their wives, in particular, value themselves on the magnificence of their furniture and dress. They never go out but in carriages, and imitate the ladies of the first rank, even with regard to their shoes. They habituate themselves to press their feet very tight, in order to hide their natural size, which is seldom corrected by this management. But though they carry their imitation so far as to form companies and assemblies as they do, yet they never attain a perfect resemblance to them. Their husbands are still further removed from the polite manners of the European Spaniard or the Creole, though there is but little real merit or genius required to copy them. They are rude, haughty, and troublesome; but these faults, which are irksome in society, are scarce ever carried to such excesses or violences as to disturb the public order.

THE whole commerce of Lima is in the hands of the Spaniards, the number of whom is from fifteen to sixteen thousand. The capitals they employ in trade are immense. There are not, in reality, more than ten or twelve houses whose capitals exceed two millions*; but those of one million† are very common, and of five hundred thousand livres‡ still more so. The desire of enjoying their riches, the vanity of making an appearance, the passion of ornamenting churches, prevent the fortunes of the Creoles from advancing to such a degree as the nature of things would admit. The

* 87,500 L.

† 43,750 L.

‡ 21,875 L.

European

European Spaniards, who are solely occupied in pursuing the plan of returning to their country, knew that with industry and œconomy people may very soon enrich themselves. Merchants, who are in want of assistance, are sure to find it in the posterity of the conquerors of Peru. If some of these distinguished families have perpetuated their splendour by entailing their estates upon their eldest sons, and by the revenues alone of their estates, the greatest part have only supported it by taking part in commercial transactions. A species of industry which is so honourable to human nature, whose understanding, power, and activity it enlarges, has never been deemed to derogate from their nobility; and, in this point alone, they have abandoned the false and romantic ideas of their ancestors. These means, joined to the immense deposits which come from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the center of all the transactions which the provinces of Peru are continually carrying on, either among themselves, or with Mexico and Chili, or with the mother-country.

THE straits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this last connection. The length of the passage, the terror inspired by stormy and almost unknown seas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impossibility of finding an asylum in case of unfortunate accidents, and other considerations, perhaps, turned the general views towards Panama.

THIS town, which had been the gate through which an entrance had been gained into Peru, had
risen

risen to great prosperity, when in 1670 it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous spot, at the distance of four or five miles from the first. Its harbour, called Perico, is very secure. It is formed by an archipelago consisting of forty-eight small islands, and is capable of containing the largest fleets.

THIS place, a little while after it was founded, became the capital of the kingdom of Terra Firma. Some hopes were at first entertained from the three provinces of Panama, Darien, and Veragua, which composed it; but this prosperity vanished instantaneously. The savages of Darien recovered their independence; and the mines of the two other provinces were found to be neither sufficiently abundant, nor of an alloy good enough, to make it worth while to work them. Five or six small boroughs, in which are seen some Europeans quite naked, and a very small number of Indians, who have come to reside there, form the whole of this state, which the Spaniards are not ashamed of honouring with the great name of kingdom. It is in general barren and unwholesome, and contributes nothing to trade but pearls.

THE pearl fishery is carried on in the islands of the gulph. The greatest part of the inhabitants employ such of their negroes in it as are good swimmers. These slaves plunge and replunge in the sea in search of pearls, till this exercise has exhausted their strength or their spirits.

EVERY negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oysters. Those in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed,
are

are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the stipulated obligation is considered as his indisputable property: he may sell it to whom he pleases; but commonly he cedes it to his master at a moderate price.

SEA monsters, which abound more about the islands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coasts, render this fishing dangerous. Some of these devour the divers in an instant. The manta fish, which derives its name from its figure, surrounds them, rolls them under its body, and suffocates them. In order to defend themselves against such enemies, every diver is armed with a poinard: the moment he perceives any of these voracious fish, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithstanding this, there are always some fishermen destroyed, and a great number crippled.

THE pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their size and figure: these were formerly sold in Europe. Since art has imitated them, and the passion for diamonds has entirely superseded or prodigiously diminished the use of them, they have found a new mart, more advantageous than the first. They are carried to Peru, where they are in great estimation.

THIS branch of trade has, however, infinitely less contributed to give reputation to Panama, than the advantage which it hath long enjoyed of being the mart of all the productions of the country of the Incas, that are destined for the old world. These riches, which are brought hither by a small fleet,

fleet, were carried, some on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is situated on the northern coast of the isthmus which separates the two seas.

THOUGH the situation of this town was surveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is disposed in the form of a crescent, on the declivity of a mountain which surrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts which Admiral Vernon destroyed in 1740, seems to afford an entrance six hundred toises broad; but it is so straitened by rocks that are near the surface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Vessels can only be towed into it, because they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect security.

THE intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is so notorious, that it has been named the grave of the Spaniards. More than once the galleons have been left here, because they had lost in this place the greatest part of their crew. The English, who blockaded it in 1726, would not have been able to have returned to Jamaica, if they had waited some days longer. The inhabitants themselves do not live long, and have all a weak constitution. It is rather a disgrace to be obliged to reside here. Some negroes and mulattoes only are to be met with, with a small number of white people, fixed by the posts that the government intrusts them with. The garrison itself, though only consisting of an hundred
and

and fifty men, does not continue here more than three months at one time. Till the beginning of the present century no woman durst lie-in here: she would have deemed it devoting both her children and herself to certain death. It is an established opinion, that the domestic animals of Europe, which have prodigiously multiplied in all the parts of the new world, lose their fruitfulness on coming to Porto Bello; and if we may judge by the few that now are there, notwithstanding the abundance of pastures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded. The plants that are transplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, moisture, and the vapours, are excessive and continual, have never prospered. It would take up too much time to recount all the evils experienced here; it would be difficult to assign the causes of them, and, perhaps, impossible to point out the remedy.

THESE inconveniencies prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at first the center of the richest commerce that ever existed. While the riches of the new world arrived there, to be exchanged for the productions of the old, the vessels that sailed from Spain, known by the name of galleons, came hither, laden with all the articles of necessity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

THE deputies for transacting this commerce on both sides regulated on board the admiral's ship the price of goods, under the inspection of the commander of the squadron and the president of

Panama. The estimate was not adjusted by the intrinsic value of each article; but by its scarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents consisted in forming their combinations so judiciously, that the cargo imported from Europe should absorb all the treasures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this case only, the Spanish merchants were allowed to go and traffic in the South Seas, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the mother country for their purchases.

As soon as the prices were settled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult; it was carried on with the utmost frankness. Exchanges were made with so much honesty, that they never opened their chests of piastres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found more than once sacks of gold mixed among sacks of silver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. All was exactly restored before the departure of the galleons, or on their return. There only happened in 1654 an event which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the piastres, that were received at the last fair, had a fifth of alloy. The loss was borne by the Spanish merchants; but, as the treasurer of the mint at Lima was known to be the author of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no disgrace.

THE

THE fair, the duration of which, on account of the noxious qualities of the air, was limited to forty days, was regularly held. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons must have been dispatched for Europe every year, or at the latest every eighteen months; and the twelve fleets that sailed from the fourth of August 1628, to the third of June 1645, prove that this rule was strictly observed. They returned at the end of eleven, ten, and sometimes even eight months, with an hundred millions * and more, in gold, silver, and goods.

THIS prosperity continued without interruption to the middle of the seventeenth century. After the loss of Jamaica, a considerable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The sacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the English pirate, was attended with still more fatal consequences. Peru, which sent thither its stock before-hand, now no longer transmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. Delays, uncertainty, distrust, were the consequences of this change. The fairs were not much frequented, and smuggling increased.

SPAIN was threatened with a much greater evil. The Scots in 1690 landed twelve hundred men in the gulph of Darien. Their design was, to gain the confidence of the savages, whom the Castilians had not been able to subdue, to arm them against a nation which they detested, to form a settlement on their territory, to break off the communication

* 4,375,000 l.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of Carthagena with Porto-Bello, to intercept the galleons, and to unite their forces with those of Jamaica, in order to acquire a decisive superiority in this part of the new world.

THIS plan, which had nothing chimerical in it, displeased Louis XIV. who offered to the court of Madrid a fleet to frustrate the design : it displeased the Dutch, who had reason to be afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the smuggling trade, which they monopolized in these latitudes : it was also disagreeable to Spain, which threatened to confiscate the effects of the subjects of Great Britain, who traded in her dominions. It was more particularly alarming to the English, who foresaw, that their colonists would abandon their old plantations, to go and reside on a territory teeming with gold; and that Scotland, growing rich, would emerge from that kind of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and universal opposition determined King William to revoke a permission which his favourites had extorted from him. He moreover prohibited all his colonies in the new world from furnishing either arms, provisions, or ammunition, to a rising settlement, whose ruin would insure the public tranquillity. Thus was stifled in its infancy a colony, the greatness of which did not appear to be remote, and must have been very considerable.

THE Spaniards had scarce time to rejoice at this happy event. The elevation of a prince of France to the throne of Charles V. kindled a general war ; and, at the commencement of the first hostilities,

ties, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impossibility of gaining Cadiz had forced them to take shelter. The communication of Spain with Porto-Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

THE peace of Utrecht, which seemed to promise a termination of these troubles, only served to increase them. Philip V. who was forced to submit, was compelled to withdraw the treaty of Affiento from the French; who being unsuccessful in the whole course of the war, and at that time little acquainted with maritime commerce, had enjoyed this privilege from 1702, without deriving any considerable benefit from it. The French were succeeded by the English.

THE South Sea company, which enjoyed an exclusive privilege, was to furnish four thousand eight hundred Africans, and to pay the king of Spain 160 livres * a head for every negro. It was obliged to give only half for those it should import above this number during the twenty-five first years of the stipulation. In the five last it was prohibited to import beyond what was specified in the contract.

It was permitted to ship from Europe, on board vessels of an hundred and fifty tons burthen, in the north sea, cloaths, medicines, provisions, and equipment for its slaves, factors, and ships. It could sell all these goods to Spanish vessels, who might have occasion for them to return.

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

ON account of the distance, the company was authorized to build houses on the river of Plata, to form lands in the neighbourhood of its factories, and get them cultivated by negroes or natives ; that is to say, by means of this mart to engross the whole commerce of Chili and Paraguay.

THE company had not less freedom with regard to the South Sea. It was permitted to freight at Panama, and in all the other ports on this coast, vessels of four hundred tons burthen, in order to convey its negroes to all the coasts of Peru, to equip them as it pleased, to nominate the commanders of them, to bring back the produce of its sales in provisions, in gold, or in silver, without being subject to any duty of import or export. It might send to Porto Bello, and convey from thence to Panama, every thing that was necessary for the fitting out of the ships it should dispatch.

THOUGH these concessions must have been very disagreeable to Spain, the English knew how to avail themselves of their superiority, and compelled her to a still more painful submission. They obtained the permission of sending every year a vessel laden with merchandise to the fair of Porto Bello. It always arrived with a thousand tons burthen, instead of five hundred which it was allowed to carry. It was neither furnished with water, nor provisions. Four or five vessels, which followed it, supplied its wants ; and frequently substituted goods in the place of such as had been sold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were also greatly detrimented by every article that the English poured into their ports where they carried

carried negroes. At last, after the expedition of 1737, it was impossible to support this commerce any longer, and a stop was put to those famous fairs envied by all nations, though they might be regarded as the common treasure of all people. From this period Panama and Porto Bello have astonishingly declined. These two towns now only serve as a passage to the negroes that are carried into the South Sea, and for some other inconsiderable branches of a decaying traffic. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

It is well known, that Magellan in 1520 discovered the famous strait that bears his name, and which separates the extremity of South America from Terra del Fuego. This strait is computed to be near an hundred and ten leagues long, and in some places less than a league broad. Though it was for a long time the only passage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there caused it almost to be forgotten. The boldness of Drake, the celebrated navigator, who sailed by this track to ravage the coasts of Peru, determined the Spaniards in 1582 to form at the straits of Magellan a settlement, destined to become the key of this part of the new world. This new colony perished almost entirely for want of provisions. Three years after, Fernando Gomez only was left there, who was brought back into Europe by the English pirate Thomas Cavendish.

THE loss of this colony was not so great an evil as it was apprehended to be. The straits of Magellan soon ceased to be the road of those pirates,

who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. Some bold navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed to pass into the South Sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V. experienced to furnish his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing, which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at first they got a profit of eight hundred per cent. These enormous advantages were not continued. The competition at last was so considerable, the goods fell into such disrepute, that it was impossible to sell them; and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-establishing itself; and these foreign traders made advantages that were considerable, when the court of Madrid in 1718 took effectual measures to remove them from these latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

At this time the expeditions to the South Sea by Cape Horn were discontinued. The Spaniards themselves resumed them in 1740 with tolerable advantage. They flattered themselves, that, at the expiration of the treaty of Assiento, that of Peru would resume its former activity. They must have been undeceived since that time. The colony has not furnished a greater quantity of bark, of

the wool of the vicuna, and cocoa, than before; and the mines proved to be so considerably diminished, that the annual returns in gold and silver did not exceed seventeen millions *. There was no part even of this sum for government; because, though the same duties are established at Peru as in Mexico and all the other settlements, the expences of administration have swallowed up the whole.

Affairs were not conducted with more knowledge, probity, and oeconomy, in the vice-royalty of New Grenada, which was separated from that of Peru. This new dominion, which was formed in 1718, extends along the South Sea from Panama to the gulph of Guayaquil; along the north sea from Mexico to the river Oroonoko; and runs so far back into land, that it comprehends an immense territory.

General
remarks on
new Gre-
nada, which
was detached
from Peru.

THE numerous provinces, that compose this great government, are covered with immense forests, separated by high mountains, and abounding with uncultivated lands. These vast regions have not been entirely subdued. Here savages are to be met with in all parts, who have no other passion but that of surprising and massacring the Spaniards. Such even of the Indians, who have been forced to submit to the yoke, have vowed an implacable hatred against their tyrants. Their first concern is, to perpetuate this animosity in their family. They incessantly call to their children's remembrance the calamities which marked the first

* Near 744,000 l.

arrival

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

arrival of the destroyers of the new world, and that sanguinary spirit which hath never ceased to animate their successors.

At the time of the conquest, this country was inhabited by an infinite number of nations that were not populous, the greatest part of whom led a wandering life, and were most of them ferocious and indolent. The men here were more active, the women more beautiful and fair, than in the neighbouring climates. The country being at a considerable distance from any of the great rivers, twenty, thirty, and forty leagues may sometimes be crossed without meeting with a hut. Since the time of the invasion, this scanty population hath scarce suffered any diminution; because there has been no destructive labour carried on there, and that the subjected people have not been condemned to work in the mines. It is seldom that any thing is exacted from them besides the tribute imposed. Some pay this with provisions; others with gold, which they find in the torrents or rivers. There are others who fulfil this kind of obligation from the profits they make on certain European goods, which they sell to the Indians who have not yet been subdued.

Remarks
on the
country of
Quito.

THE country of Quito, which hath been incorporated with what is called the new kingdom, is the best known and the most agreeable part of it. Nothing, for instance, can be compared to the valley formed between the double chain of the Cordeleras mountains.

In the center of the torrid zone, and even immediately under the equator, all the beauties
of

of spring are here incessantly enjoyed. The mildness of the air, the equality of day and night, yield a thousand delights in a country which the sun surrounds with a girdle of fire. It is preferred to the climate of the temperate zones, where the change of the seasons occasions sensations too much opposite not to be inconvenient from that very inequality. Nature appears to have combined, under the line that covers so many seas and so little land, a multitude of circumstances which conspire to moderate the ardent heat of the sun: these are the elevation of the globe in this summit of its sphere; the vicinity of mountains of immense height and extent, and always covered with snows; and continual winds which refresh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. The whole universe would not afford a more agreeable retreat than the territory of Quito, if so many advantages were not counterbalanced by some inconveniences.

At one or two o'clock after noon, the time when the morning, which is almost always very fine, ends, the vapours begin to rise, and the sky is covered with gloomy clouds, which are changed into storms. Then the whole atmosphere is illuminated, and appears to be set on fire by lightning; and the thunder makes the mountains resound with a terrible noise. To these may be added dreadful earthquakes, which sometimes happen; at other times rain or sunshine prevails without intermission for fifteen days together; and then there is an universal consternation. The excess
of

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

of moisture spoils what is sown, and drought produces dangerous diseases.

BUT, excepting when these unhappy accidents, which are very rare, take place, the climate of Quito is one of the most wholesome. The air is generally so pure, that those nauseous insects are there unknown which distress the greatest part of the provinces of America. Though licentiousness and neglect render venereal complaints here almost general, the people suffer very little from them. Those who have inherited this contagious distemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

THE fertility of the soil answers to the mildness of the climate. The moisture and the action of the sun being continual, and always sufficient to unfold and strengthen the shoots, the agreeable picture of the three most beautiful seasons of the year is continually presented to the eye. In proportion as the grass withers, fresh grass springs up; and the enamel of the meadows is hardly past, but it appears afresh. The trees are incessantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form, and beauty of which are at once exhibited in all their several progressive states from their first appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the same progression of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new-sown seed springing up, some that is grown larger and spiked with ears, some turning yellow, and some under the reaper's sickle. The whole year is passed in sowing and reaping, within the compass

compass of the same field, or the same horizon. This constant variety depends on the situation of the mountains, hillocks, plains, and valleys.

THIS plenty of corn, maize, sugar, flocks, and all provisions, and the low price at which the impossibility of exporting them necessarily keeps them, has sunk the whole province, especially the capital, in the greatest idleness and disorder.

QUITO, which was conquered by the Spaniards in 1534, and is built on the declivity of the famous mountain of Pitchincha in the Cordeleras, may have fifty thousand inhabitants, the greatest part of whom are abandoned to shameful and habitual debauchery. Though such manners are common in all the Spanish colonies, they have not been carried in any other spot to the same excess of corruption. Among the various passions which have there been indulged with the most licentious freedom, that of gaming has always been most destructive in its consequences.

THOUGH it is prohibited by law to carry a poniard, yet the mestees, free negroes, or slaves, are seldom without one. Thus it is that every week, and almost every day, is marked by assassination. The abuse of those asylums, which secure impunity to such horrid acts, is the principal cause of these disturbances. It is to be hoped that the excess of the evil will point out the necessity of a remedy.

THE mother-country continually imputes to this depravity of manners the ruin of those gold and silver mines that were opened at the time of the conquest, and the neglect of those that have been
since

since gradually discovered. The province, it is asserted, might apply to this kind of industry with so much the more success, as it is better peopled with Indians and Spaniards than any other country of the new world, and derives from itself prodigious plenty of excellent provisions, which in other parts must be brought from a great distance, and at a very considerable expence. Then this country, formerly so opulent, might again rise to its former state, and resume a lustre which prejudice and the turn of the place will always prevent its deriving from its own agriculture and manufactures.

THE Spaniards born at Quito, and those that are sent from Europe to take upon themselves the government of it, find these reproaches ill founded. Their general opinion is, that the mines of this province are not sufficiently rich to defray the charge of working them. We cannot pretend to decide this point. Yet, if we only reflect on the ardour that these conquerors have always manifested for this species of riches, which, without any labour on their part, cost them nothing but the blood of those who were in possession of it, we may venture to conclude, that nothing but an entire impossibility, founded on experience, could determine this nation to deny itself the pursuit of its natural inclinations, and resist the urgent solicitations of the mother-country.

THE province of Quito has endeavoured to make up the deficiency of its mines by the produce of its manufactures. A prodigious quantity of hats, common cloth, light stuffs, and baize, is
made

made here. Exclusive of its home consumption, it exported annually for a long time to the amount of five or six millions of livres*. With this assistance it has been enabled to pay for the wines, brandies, and oils, that it was never allowed to draw from its own territory; for the dried and salted fish which was brought from the coasts; for the soap which is made at Truxillo from the fat of goats, which have exceedingly multiplied there; for the iron used in all its works of agriculture; and for all those articles of luxury it was supplied with from the old world. This traffic has diminished more than one half. At all times the inhabitants of the province kept up the pride of dressing in European cloth, known throughout all America by the name of the cloth of Castille. This taste is become general since the register ships have been substituted to the galleons. The facility of being continually supplied with these stuffs, and of getting them at a lower price, has ruined the manufactures of Quito, which has been reduced to extreme wretchedness.

THE country will never emerge from this state of poverty by its connections with Spain, to which it furnishes nothing but bark. The tree which yields this famous remedy is seldom more than two toises and a half high; its trunk and branches are of a proportional thickness: it grows in forests promiscuously amongst many other plants, and is propagated by seeds which fall to the ground of themselves. The only valuable part of it is its

* On an average about 240,000 l.

bark, which is no otherwise prepared than by drying it. The thickest was always preferred, till some accurate experiments made in England, and frequently repeated, have shewn that the thinnest bark was the most efficacious.

It was long believed that the bark tree was only found on the territory of Loxa, a town that was founded in 1546 by captain Alonso de Mercadillo. That which was in the highest estimation grew two leagues to the south of this place on the mountain of Cajanuma; and it is not more than fifty years ago that some merchants endeavoured to prove by certificates, that the bark which they sold came from this famous place. This medicine has lately been discovered in the neighbourhood of Riobamba, Cuenca, and some other countries, all in the province of Quito.

THE bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jesuits, who had brought it thither, distributed it gratis to the poor, and sold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, physician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the salutary effects of it, established it in Spain at an hundred crowns a pound*. This remedy soon acquired great reputation, which it maintained till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to supply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that which there was so much demand for. This fraud diminished the confidence that had been placed in the bark, and consequently its price. The mea-

* About 13*l*.

fures, which the court of Madrid employed to remedy so dangerous an imposition, were not entirely successful. The late discoveries must have rendered this production so common, that it does not appear probable that it will be adulterated any more.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country very antiently knew the use of the bark. It is said, that they infused it a whole day in water, and gave the liquor to a sick man to drink without the grounds. The fear of revealing so salutary a remedy to the Spaniards, their tyrants, made them renounce it themselves. They had so thoroughly lost the remembrance of it, that they imagined it was used in Europe only for dying. Jussieu, a French botanist, informed them of the contrary about thirty years ago. He taught them to distinguish the indifferent sort of bark from the good, and from the most excellent of its kind; and accustomed them to have recourse, as we have, to its specific virtue in intermitting fevers.

THESE people have not paid the same attention to the advice of intelligent persons who were desirous of persuading them to cultivate cochineal. This is found, in certain countries of the province, similar in every respect to the cochineal of New Spain. It is employed in the manufactures of Loxa and Cuença; to which circumstance may be ascribed the superiority of their stuffs and carpets to those of Quito, where it is not used. If the Spaniards can ever be roused from their inactivity to pursue this species of industry, they will open to themselves a new branch of commerce with

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

Europe, which they may enlarge, if they please, by the produce of cinnamon.

TOWARDS the eastern side of the Cordeleras are situated the countries of Quixos and Macas, which were subdued in 1559, and annexed to the province of Quito. There are only some scattered and miserable villages there. The first of these countries was never of any use to the mother country; and the second hath ceased to be so, since the insurrection of the Indians hath occasioned the rich mines, which had been opened there, to be abandoned. Both produce cinnamon, which is in common use in Peru, and which might be much further extended, if proper attention were bestowed upon the cultivation of it.

Remarks
on Popayan
and
Chaco.

TILL the province of Quito shall avail itself of its own natural advantages, the riches of New Grenada are limited to the metals of Popayan and Chaco, two provinces that were conquered in 1536. The barrenness of these countries at first induced the Spaniards to form no very favourable opinion of their acquisition; but some important discoveries soon stamped a value on them. Gold mines were found, which are so much the more advantageous, as the working of them is neither expensive, difficult, nor hazardous.

THE ore is scattered and mixed with the earth and gravel: this mixture is conveyed into a large reservoir, where it is pounded till the lightest parts escape from the reservoir by a pipe which serves to carry off the water. Then the workmen take the heavy matter, that is to say, the sand and ore which remain at the bottom, and put it into wooden buckets,

buckets, which they turn circularly with a quick and uniform motion. They change the water, and continue to separate the light matter from the heavy. At last there remains at the bottom of these tubs nothing but gold cleared of all the extraneous bodies with which it had been combined. It is generally found in dust, sometimes in grains of different sizes. The same operation is repeated in the second and third reservoirs, that are placed under the first to receive the light parts of the gold that may have been carried away from the first basin by the running of the water. Some of the workmen are employed in washing it, while others dig up the ore and carry it away. The labour is never interrupted.

THESE works are carried on by about eight thousand blacks. These slaves, who are never employed in mines of any depth, because the cold there kills them, are reserved for those which are near the surface of the earth. They may every where be employed without endangering their life: they are preferred to the Indians, who have less capacity and strength than they have, and especially less of that good-will which gives strength and capacity. It is universally the custom in Popayan and Chaco, that they deliver every day to their master a certain portion of gold; what they can collect above this quantity belongs to themselves, as well as what they find on those days that are consecrated to religion and rest, on which they are the masters of their leisure-time, on condition that during the festival they maintain themselves. This agreement puts the most laborious, the most frugal,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

and the most happy among them in a condition of purchasing sooner or later their liberty. Then they intermix in marriage with the Spaniards; and the two nations now form only one and the same people.

THE produce of their industry is carried to Santa Fè of Bogota, which was built in 1536 by Gonfalso Ximenes de Queseda in a place where he arrived from the north sea by the river of Magdalena, precisely at the same time as Sebastian de Benalcazar came there from Popayan. Some violent contests immediately arose concerning the boundaries between these two conquerors, which terminated in favour of Queseda. The city which he had built became the capital of the new kingdom of Grenada, where in process of time were formed the towns of Marequitta, Pampeluna, Tecayma, and some others less considerable.

THIS colony was indebted for its first prosperity to the emerald, a precious stone, which is transparent and of a green colour, and which has no greater degree of hardness than the rock crystal.

SOME countries of Europe furnish emeralds, but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little estimation.

It was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the East Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion has been rejected, since it has been found impossible to tell the places where they were formed. It is now certain that Asia has never sold us any of these jewels, except what she herself had received from the new world.

THESE beautiful emeralds belong certainly to America alone. The first conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from a persuasion they had that they would not break if they were fine. This loss became the more sensibly felt through the impossibility of discovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn so much treasure. The mountains of New Granada at last supplied this deficiency; they furnished a great quantity of emeralds, which were carried to Europe, from whence they were diffused throughout the whole world.

THE Spanish historians speak with enthusiasm of the emeralds and metals which this colony originally furnished. Some make the produce amount to sums which would even astonish persons who have the greatest propensity to the marvellous. Exaggeration, perhaps, has never been carried so far. If the fabulous reports that were raised had only been approaching to the truth, the colonists would have multiplied in proportion to their riches, as it hath happened in all the settlements the opulence of which has never been doubtful. This populousness does not exist, and no æra can be alledged in which there were any remarkable emigrations.

LET this be as it may, these countries, which are supposed formerly to have been so renowned, are fallen into the greatest obscurity: if Santa Fè has in some degree been rescued from oblivion, it does not derive this advantage from its productions, which are reduced to a small quantity of tobacco, of an indifferent quality, that is disposed of in the in-

land country ; to a little corn, which serves to supply Carthagena with provision of this kind ; and to a small number of emeralds, and a little quantity of gold, furnished by the valley of Neyva. The attention still bestowed upon it is in consequence of the happiness it has of being the seat of government, the center of all business, and the mart of the riches of Popayan and Chaco.

THESE riches are carried on mules for five hundred leagues, and embarked at Honda on the river of Magdalena, upon small vessels. After a few days sailing, they enter into a channel formed by nature, and enlarged about the middle of the last century, which brings them to Carthagena. In the seasons when this channel is without water, and through the negligence of government it will soon be without it in all seasons, the voyage is carried on upon the river, till they arrive at three days journey from this celebrated town, which they afterwards travel to by land.

Remarks
on Cartha-
gena.

THE place where Carthagena is at present situated, was discovered in 1502 by Bastidas, who would have settled there, if he had not been repulsed by the savages. Several adventurers, who followed his footsteps, experienced the same resistance. At last Heredia appeared in 1527, with a force sufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled the town.

THE prosperity of this settlement drew thither in 1544 some French pirates, who pillaged it. In 1585 it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Poin-
tis took it and ransomed it in 1697. Admiral
Vernon

Vernon was obliged in 1741 to raise the siege of it, though he had undertaken it with twenty-five ships of the line, six fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, and as many land forces as were sufficient to conquer all America. BOOK
VII.

AFTER so many revolutions, Carthagena now subsists in splendour in a peninsula of sand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadest of which is not thirty-five toises. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed at a little distance a hill of tolerable height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus has been built. In time of peace these works are defended by a garrison of between six and seven hundred men. The town is one of the best built, the most regular and best disposed, of any in the new world. It may contain twenty-five thousand souls. Of this number the Spaniards form the sixth part; the negroes, Indians, and several races composed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

THIS mixture is more common at Carthagena than in the other Spanish colonies. A multitude of adventurers without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually resorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repose any confidence in their services; they are destined to subsist wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a square, or at the gate of a church. If the afflictions they experience in this miserable state bring some violent disease upon them, they are commonly assisted by the free negro women, whose care and kindness

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

they requite by marrying them. Such who have not the happiness of being in a situation dreadful enough to excite the compassion of the women, are obliged to retire to some village, to live there by cultivating the ground, and reaping the fruit of their labours; which the haughty laziness of the inhabitant considers as the utmost ignominy. In reality, indolence is carried so far, that men and women who are wealthy seldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

Two celebrated Spaniards have judged the climate to be one of the principal causes of this inactivity. The heat is excessive and continual at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are incessantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which is sometimes a little moderated in the dry season by the north-east winds. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perspiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of sickly persons. Even when they are in perfect health their motions partake of the softness of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifests itself even in their words, which are always uttered slowly, and with a low voice. Those who come hither from Europe preserve their fresh complexions and plumpness three or four months. They afterwards lose both, by falling into incessant sweats.

This state is the fore-runner of an evil still more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that some persons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigestion.

It

It manifests itself by vomiting, accompanied with so violent a delirium, that the patient must be confined, to prevent him from tearing himself to pieces. He often expires in the midst of these agitations, which seldom last above three or four days. Those who have escaped this danger at first, run no risque for the future. We are assured from the testimony of men of understanding, that even upon their return to Carthagená, after a long absence, they have nothing to fear.

THIS town and its territory exhibit the spectacle of a hideous leprosy, which indiscriminately attacks both natives and strangers. The philosophers, who have attempted to ascribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not considered that this distemper is unknown in the other countries of America, where this kind of food is not less common. To prevent the progress of this distemper, an hospital has been founded in the country. All persons who are supposed to be attacked with it are shut up here, without distinction of sex, rank, or age. The benefit of so wise an establishment is lost through the avarice of the governors, who, without being deterred by the danger of spreading the disease, suffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the sick is so great, that the inclosure of the dwelling is of an immense extent. Every one there enjoys a little spot of ground that is marked out for him on his admission. There he builds an abode suitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This disorder so powerfully

fully excites that passion which is the strongest of all others, that it has been judged necessary to permit marriage to such as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increasing the passion by increasing the means of satisfying it. These desires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them, they increase by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The wretchedness of beholding this ardent disease, which infects the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other disorders that are, perhaps, chimerical.

If we were less acquainted with the negligent disposition of the Spaniards, we might persuade them to make an experiment, which, probably, would be attended with success. There are some people in Africa that are situated nearly under the same latitude, who have a custom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expressed from the fruit of a tree that is like the palm. This oil is of a disagreeable smell, but has the salutary property of stopping the pores of the skin, and checking the sweats which the heat of the climate would render excessive, especially during three months of the year, in which a dreadful calm afflicts these countries. If a similar method were tried at Carthage, perhaps the leprosy might be restrained, or even totally abolished. We know that those who are attacked with this disease perspire no longer, and that their skin is hard and scaly. Would it be repugnant to the principles of sound philosophy, to attribute it to too copious a perspiration, which impoverishes the fibres of the skin,

skin, and renders them incapable of performing their functions? The use of an oil or grease fit to diminish this extreme degree of perspiration, and at the same time prevent its total suppression, seems to be the method indicated by nature to guard against the calamity we are now speaking of.

NOTWITHSTANDING this distemper, the badness of the climate, and many other inconveniences, Spain hath always shewed a great predilection for Carthagena, on account of its harbour, one of the best that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a deep and excellent bottom. There is less agitation there, than on the most calm river. The passage to it formerly was solely by the canal of Bocca Chica. This was so narrow, that only one vessel could pass, without being exposed to the cross batteries of forts erected on both sides. The English in 1741 having destroyed the fortifications that defended this passage, it was shut up by the Spaniards. An antient canal was opened, which was disposed in such a manner, that it will not be easy for an enemy's squadron to force it. This is the way by which all vessels now enter into the harbour.

AT the time that the trade of Peru was carried on by the galleons, these vessels sailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and visited it again on their return. In the first voyage, they deposited the merchandise that was necessary for the interior provinces, and received the price of it in the second. This arrangement displeased the merchants of Lima, who pretended that, when they came back from the fair, they found all their
country

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

country, provided with the same things which they had been to fetch at a great distance. They petitioned, and they obtained that Carthagena should not be stocked till after Porto Bello.

By this restriction the provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan, and Quito, were reduced, either to draw at a great expence and with great hazard what they wanted from the fair itself, or to content themselves with the refuse of it. This arrangement, which continued several years, was extremely displeasing to them. In 1730 a scheme was devised, which seemed proper to reconcile the differences. It was agreed that things should be re-established on the old footing; but that at the arrival of the galleons the traffic of European goods should cease between the two vice-royalties. Spain had not yet made sufficient progress in the knowledge of political œconomy, to be sensible how far such a regulation was contrary to reason and to her interest.

THE suppression of the galleons made no change in this matter. The vessels which successively come to Carthagena, to supply New Grenada with provisions, do not annually carry away above five millions*. Those who know that there is more than double this sum coined in the mint of Santa Fè, the only money that exists in the country since that of Popayan was suppressed, and who cannot also be ignorant that all the gold which the mines produce cannot possibly be coined there, will be amazed at the smallness of these returns. But their astonishment will cease, if they consider

* Not quite 219,000 l.

the quantity of gold that is fraudulently exported. Smuggling is carried on in several places on the coast. The riches of Chaco are chiefly conveyed away by the river of Atrato, which falls into the gulph of Darien; and those of Popayan by the different mouths of the Magdalena, which it is impossible to guard. Spain will never succeed in breaking these smuggling connections, unless she abandons her former prejudices. A more rational system would not only secure to her the treasures she is likely to lose; but would also give a new value to the only lands of the viceroyalty that are cultivated with emolument to the mother-country.

BETWEEN the rivers of Magdalena and Oroonoko is a long succession of coasts which occupy an immense space. These were discovered in 1499 by Ojeda, John de la Casas, and Americus Vesputius, who landed with four ships at a place which they called Venezuela, from the resemblance it appeared to them to have with Venice. The settlements which these adventurers and their followers attempted on the continent, were not formed with the same ease as those in the islands. The savages, who were accustomed to make war upon one another, resisted them with a degree of opposition that was sometimes obstinate. At last these small detached nations, which by their natural disposition, or the state of war they lived in, had rarely any fixed abode, took the resolution either of removing themselves far back into the inland countries, or of submitting.

A CONSIDERABLE number of small towns were then built, the most famous of which were Cumana,

Remarks
on the
countries
situated
between
the rivers
Magdale-
na and
Oroonoko.

mana, Caraccás, Verina, Coro, Maracaybo, and Saint Martha. In the territory of some of these were found mines of gold, which at first were worked. Their produce in the beginning was pretty considerable; but this success was only transitory. Whether this arose from there being little gold in them, or, as is most probable, that most of them were only the branches of mines, it soon became necessary to abandon them. In the settlements that were destitute of mines, the Spaniards, thirsting after gold and blood, went into the internal parts of the country to massacre the Indians, or wrest from them what they had collected of that valuable sand in their rivers, in order to compose various ornaments of it. The last resource of these desperate men was to make slaves, in order to export them into the islands that their barbarity had depopulated.

LA CASAS was incensed at this horrible conduct. In 1519, he proposed to form a colony on this coast, in which no one should be able to settle but with his consent. His colonists were to be clothed in such a manner, as to make it believed that they did not belong to the nation which had rendered itself so odious. Their apparel was to be white, with a cross of the same colour, and nearly the figure of that of Calatrava. He affirmed, that with these kind of knights, and with missionaries instructed by himself, he should be able, without war, violence, or slavery, to form connections with the savages, to civilize them, to establish agriculture, and even to work the mines that might be discovered. His ambition

was

was confined to obtaining for his expence the twelfth of what the government should draw from the countries whose felicity he thus anxiously studied.

THIS plan was too favourable to mankind not to be rejected. The ambitious, who govern states and nations, consider them as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happiness of the human species. Charles V. mortgaged the province of Venezuela, situated in the midst of the coast we are now speaking of, to the family of the Welfers. These rich merchants of Ausburg in 1528 sent thither four hundred and fourscore Germans, who in avarice and ferocity surpassed all persons that had before appeared in the new world. History accuses them of having massacred or caused to be destroyed a million of Indians. Their tyranny ended by a horrible catastrophe, and they were never replaced. It was considered as a happiness, that the country which they had laid waste should return under the Spanish dominion.

UNFORTUNATELY the scenes of horror, which the Germans had exhibited, were renewed by Carjaval, who was appointed to the government of this unhappy country. This monster, it is true, lost his head on a scaffold; but the punishment did not recall from the grave the victims he had sacrificed. The depopulation was so complete, that in 1550 a great number of negroes were imported from Africa, on whom the hopes of an unbounded prosperity were founded. The habit of tyranny made the Spaniards treat these
slaves

slaves with such severity, that they revolted. Their rebellions furnished a pretext for massacring all the males; and this colony once more became a desert, in which the ashes of negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and Germans, were intermixed. Venezuela fell again into that total oblivion which also involved the provinces that are in the vicinity of the Oroonoko and the Magdalena, though the extent, excellence, and variety of their soil, might have invited the mother country to derive several productions from them, and for the most part very rich ones. The center of this extensive coast is employed in cultivating cocoa.

THE cocoa-tree is of a middling size, and is propagated from seeds, which are sown at certain distances. When it begins to shoot, it divides into three, four, five, or six trunks, according to the vigour of the root. In proportion as it grows, its branches, which are always very far from one another, bend towards the earth. Its leaves, which are long and smooth, have an agreeable smell, terminate in a point, and resemble, if they were glossy, those of the orange tree. From the stem, as well as from the branches, rises a jonquil flower, the pistil of which contains the husk that incloses the fruit. This husk, which is of the figure of a melon, and is pointed and divided into portions that are strongly marked, grows to the length of about six or seven inches, and the breadth of four or five, and incloses between twenty and thirty small almonds. It is green during its growth; then it turns yellow; which is a proof that its fruit begins to have some degree

degree of firmness. As soon as it acquires the colour of deep musk, it must be gathered, and dried immediately. Every seed of the cocoa is found inclosed in the divisions of the membranes of the husk. Two crops are made annually, which are equal in quality and quantity.

THE cocoa tree, which begins to reward the labour of the cultivator at the end of two or three years, requires a moist ground. If it wants water, it produces no fruit, withers, and dies. A shade, to shelter it continually from the heat of the sun, is not less necessary to it. It ought to be surrounded with strong trees, that under the shelter of them it may flourish. The culture it further requires is neither laborious nor expensive. It is sufficient to extirpate the grass around it, which would deprive it of its nourishment.

THOUGH the cocoa tree is successfully cultivated in several countries of America, and even grows naturally in others, it succeeds in no part of it so well as on the coast we are describing. All the parts of America gather a little, but it only becomes an important object on the territory of Caraccas. It is reckoned that the crop of this valuable fruit produces more than a hundred thousand fanegas of one hundred and ten pounds each. The country of Santa Fé consumes twenty thousand; Mexico a little more; the Canaries a small cargo; and Europe from between fifty to sixty thousand. The cultivation of this plant employs ten or twelve thousand negroes. Such of them, who in process of time have obtained their

Vol. II. Q q liberty,

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

liberty, have built the little town of Nirva, where they will not admit any white people.

THE commerce of Caraccas, to which the bay of Guaira at two leagues from it serves for a harbour, was a long time open to all the subjects of the Spanish monarchy, and is so still to the Americans. The Europeans are not so well treated. In 1728, a company was formed at Saint Sebastian, which obtained an exclusive right of maintaining connections with this part of the new world. Four or five ships, which they dispatch every year, sail from thence, but they return to Cadiz. The fanega of cocoa, which seldom in the colony costs more than thirty-five livres*, that are paid in merchandise, is delivered in Spain at the fixed price of one hundred and ninety-nine livres†. There is no price settled for the little cotton, indigo, and leather, which come from this part of the new world.

WHEN we consider that this is all the produce of a coast which is nine hundred leagues long, and twenty, thirty, and forty deep, in a soil very often highly susceptible of cultivation; it is impossible not to be seized with astonishment and indignation. If Spain would take effectual measures to bestow marks of distinction on all persons who are employed in useful labours, the plunderers who now acquire at Saint Martha a miserable subsistence by smuggling on the river de la Hacha, and in other places, would then apply themselves to agricul-

* 11. 10s. 7d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

† About 8l. 14s.

ture. To that spirit of destruction, which has hitherto been the basis of her policy, if she would substitute the principles of moderation and humanity, we should then behold the Motilones, the Guajaros, and all the savages that surround her back settlements, or who intercept their communication, hasten to form connections, which will become necessarily and reciprocally useful. Then the provinces, that are situated between Magdalena and Oroonoko, will rise to that degree of splendor for which they are destined by nature. They will excel in rich and various productions a great number of colonies, whose fertility has been celebrated for so long a time. These important objects are so evident, that it would be useless to enlarge upon them any further. We shall therefore proceed to speak of Chili.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

BOOKS Printed for and Sold by
T. CADELL, in the STRAND, LONDON.

I. **A** New Edition of the Shipwreck, a Poem, in 3 Cantos, by a Sailor; with two Plates, viz. a Sea Chart, and an Elevation of a Ship, with all her Masts, Yards, Sails, and Rigging. To this Edition is added, an Elegy on the Subject. 3s. sewed.

II. Select Pieces in Prose and Verse, of Mr. Abraham Cowley; with a Preface and Notes, by Dr. Hurd. 3d Edit. 2 vols. 7s.

III. The Moral Miscellany, or, a Collection of Select Pieces in Prose and Verse, for the Instruction and Entertainment of Youth. 3d Edition. 3s.

IV. An Historical Miscellany; by the same, 3d Edition. 3s.

V. The Poetical Miscellany; consisting of Select Pieces from the Works of the following Poets, viz. Milton, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Gay, &c. 2d Edition. 3s.

VI. The Works of Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, complete, 11 vols. 8vo. 2l. 18s.

VII. The History of England, from the earliest Accounts of Time to the Death of George the Second, adorned with Heads elegantly engraved. By Dr. Goldsmith. 4 vols. 1l. 4s.

VIII. A Tour through some of the Northern Parts of Europe, particularly Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Petersburg, in a Series of Letters. By N. Wraxall, Jun. 3d Edition. 6s.

IX. A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland. By the Author of the Rambler. 6s.





